





# To U.S. Aide, Diversity Is the Air Security Answer

Ann McLaughlin, chairman of the Aviation Security and Terrorism Commission set up by President George Bush, discussed that body's work with Barry James of the International Herald Tribune during a visit to Europe to investigate the December 1988 bomb explosion on a jetliner over Lockerbie, Scotland. She was secretary of labor in the Reagan administration.

Q. As a result of your inquiries, can you give any comfort to the families of the Lockerbie victims who pressed for the establishment of this commission?

A. Their loved ones will not have died in vain if we can improve both security, and the freedom of people to travel. In doing

## MONDAY Q&A

this, we hope to answer some of the questions raised by the tragedy of Pan Am 103. Firstly, there is the question of notification, the double standard — did some people know ahead of time and others not? And secondly, in a crisis situation, how are families of victims of terrorist acts treated by our government? I think the families would feel they had made a contribution to other citizens if the commission could move in those two areas, as well as in the area of security.

Q. Do not passengers have the right to be informed on each and every occasion there is a threat against any airline or flight?

A. The idea of notification of the public is an issue that the commission will look at. We do not have a position as yet. It involves intelligence and national security information that goes beyond aviation. With regard to notification, each situation is going to be different and the method of handling it is going to be different.

Q. How has airport and aviation security improved since Lockerbie?

A. In a number of ways, because sadly we are the wiser. One that we have specifically looked at in airports on this trip is the 100 percent matching of passengers and their baggage. Another is the increased screening and X-raying of both hand-carried and checked baggage. New technology is coming on line to deal with the kinds of technology the terrorists are using. Improvement in the area of human resources — training and evaluating employees and instilling pride in their jobs — is very important. And one area in which I think



Ann McLaughlin laying a wreath Sunday for victims of Pan Am Flight 103 in Lockerbie, Scotland. With her are members of the U.S. commission on airline terrorism, Senator Alfonse M. D'Amato, in dark coat, Representative John Paul Hammerschmidt, partly hidden, and General Thomas C. Richards, right. The man at the far left was unidentified.

we have really improved is in recognizing the peculiarities of a given airport, a given airline or a given passenger flow. Security is not one-size-fits-all, or one procedure.

Q. Your investigation is concerned with the how rather than the who of the Lockerbie disaster. Nevertheless, are you satisfied with the pace and scope of the criminal investigation to find the culprits?

A. The investigators have been tenacious. The forensic work has been spectacular. The many authorities involved in this are dedicated to bringing these people to justice.

Q. What are the main problems that need to be tackled?

A. First, identify the best standards, procedures and technologies on which the various governments can work together. Where can international cooperation in security matters cut across lines? Second, ensure cooperation in the intelligence and national security areas.

Q. Even if you have the best security available at some airports, there will still be

parts of the world where security is lacking or nonexistent. How do you cope with this problem?

A. You are right. It costs money to have good security, and many countries do not have the necessary economic and technical resources. Airlines and authorities are addressing this problem in different ways. For example, one air carrier told us they are sending security people to countries that are not well-equipped to handle security. The problem is being addressed through the international aviation organizations, and there is also the question of how our industrialized countries can help those countries that do not have the resources. For example, France has established a fund to begin to improve security at African airports.

Q. The International Foundation of Airline Passengers Associations has been campaigning for the establishment of a \$1 billion aviation security fund to be paid for by a levy on tickets, which would provide

an international inspectorate. Do you favor such an approach?

A. Raising money for security on a per ticket basis is being done, and there is no doubt this has merit. I am not sure there should be any one system. As to an inspectorate, I would favor anything that has the support and cooperation of countries seeking to protect our air travelers and facilitate their freedom, but it would be premature to talk of a specific plan.

Q. If all airlines had the high security consciousness of the Israeli airline, El Al, travel might be safer. Even if passengers are inconvenienced, shouldn't this become the norm?

A. I have learned on this trip that a successful security program or programs can in fact be enhanced by diversity. It is hard to say that one particular technique, technology or system is good for everybody. If you had one across-the-board plan, terrorists would have to think only of how to penetrate that plan.

## Burma Moving 160,000

### Envoys Link Plan To May Election

By Keith B. Richburg

Washington Post Service

BANGKOK — The military rulers of Burma have forcibly removed thousands of people this year from Rangoon to "resettlement areas" in the countryside, according to diplomats who have witnessed the relocations.

Some of the diplomats, contacted by telephone in Rangoon, said the forced removals, officially part of a population resettlement program, are aimed at breaking up potential opposition strongholds and preventing pro-democracy demonstrations. In 1988, the government was seriously threatened by such demonstrations before they were crushed by the army.

Although many of those singled out for relocation are classified as "squatters," most have been living in the same houses for 30 to 40 years, the diplomats said. Many of the poor neighborhoods affected by the program are in areas where people turned out in large numbers for the 1988 anti-government protests, they said. The opposition National League for Democracy is believed to have its strongest support in these areas, the diplomats added.

In some cases, entire neighborhoods are being demolished, the diplomats said. People targeted for relocation have been given 48 hours to pack their belongings before army trucks transfer them to locations up to 110 kilometers (70 miles) away.

The areas where the people are being taken are said to lack water, electricity and other public services. The new inhabitants often have no way to commute to their jobs in the city.

About 160,000 Burmese have been selected for relocation to "satellite towns," according to diplomats. They said forced removals were under way in Rangoon and in the northern city of Mandalay.

The diplomats said the relocations were part of a systematic campaign to harass and intimidate Burma's new political opposition before national elections scheduled for May 27. Some opposition leaders have been arrested.

Although many diplomats said the elections would probably be held as scheduled, few believed that they would be "free and fair," as the government promised after the crackdown in September 1988.

While the military government has allowed the formation of many political parties in recent months, the National League for Democracy, the most popular opposition grouping, has clearly been the target of official harassment.

Its chairman, Tin Oo, has been sentenced to three years of hard labor for sedition, and its leader, Daw Aung San Sun Kyi, has virtually been under house arrest for months in Rangoon.

Recently, a government committee ruled that Daw Aung San Sun Kyi would be ineligible to run for election, according to diplomats.

## Zulu Ends Criticism Of Mandela

By David B. Ottaway

Washington Post Service

JOHANNESBURG — The Zulu leader, Chief Mangosuthu Buthelezi, sought during the week end to make peace with Nelson Mandela, son after accusing the recently freed black nationalist leader of "serious errors of judgment."

Chief Buthelezi's criticism on Friday of Mr. Mandela, the African National Congress leader, stemmed from factional fighting in the eastern province of Natal.

The fighting has intensified since Mr. Mandela's release from prison Feb. 11. More than 50 persons were killed last week. Chief Buthelezi accused Mr. Mandela of believing reports that the police were backing the Zulu leader's followers in the fighting.

Chief Buthelezi's Inkatha Movement is battling for control of the black townships around the city of Durban and the town of Pietermaritzburg with supporters of the United Democratic Front, an anti-apartheid organization allied with the ANC. According to some reports, Inkatha has recently been losing ground in Natal.

The Zulu leader said Saturday that Mr. Mandela had called him and that they had discussed press reports of an emerging conflict between them. Chief Buthelezi said that he was now "entirely at ease and satisfied that there still is the love and respect between us."

Chief Buthelezi said he would meet with Mr. Mandela as soon as possible to discuss the fighting and "the need for black unity of purpose at this critical juncture of our history." The chief also said that Mr. Mandela would visit Natal.

The tense situation in Natal presents Mr. Mandela with perhaps his toughest challenge as he seeks to assert himself as the leader of all of South Africa's 27 million blacks.

Mr. Mandela has been careful to preserve a personal relationship with Chief Buthelezi even while pro-ANC groups have been stepping up pressure to undermine Inkatha's political standing among the Zulus in Natal.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Russian Nationalists Assail Gorbachev

MOSCOW (AP) — Rightist Russian nationalists staged a venomous rally Sunday to complain about President Mikhail S. Gorbachev's reform efforts, a warning trend in U.S.-Soviet relations and the growing nationalism in non-Russian republics.

Speakers accused Mr. Gorbachev of being power-hungry and plunging the Soviet Union into poverty and misery. Banners proclaimed, "Mikhail is the Creator of Violence and Desolation" and "Gorbachev: Answer for the Breakdown of the Economy."

The rally reflected the increasing polarization that has occurred as the Soviet Union's more than 100 ethnic groups vent pent-up grievances. Russian nationalists have become particularly vocal during the campaign for March 4 elections to the republic's legislature.

### Prague Communists Expel Husak

PRAGUE (AP) — Former President Gustav Husak, former Prime Minister Lubomir Strougal and 20 other former leading officials have been expelled from the Czechoslovak Communist Party, the state press agency CTK reported. Seven of the those removed, including Mr. Husak and Mr. Strougal, are former Politburo officials.

Ladislav Adamc, the party leader, told the session Saturday that "20 to 30 percent" of the 1.7 million members had left the party since November. Other sources have put that figure at more than 50 percent.

### At Least 4 Killed in Nepal Protests

KATMANDU, Nepal (Reuters) — The police battled with thousands of anti-government students and political activists in the center of Katmandu on Sunday, leaving four people wounded, and at least four persons were killed in clashes in the countryside, Radio Nepal said.

Banned political parties, allied in the Movement for the Restoration of Democracy, defied a government crackdown to begin the first demonstrations in Katmandu against the kingdom's nonparty political system. The parties have been banned for 30 years.

The police charged the protesters, who repeatedly regrouped and waved outlawed party flags and chanted: "We want democracy." The official Radio Nepal said seven persons were wounded in the countryside, that at least four were killed in other protests in the village of Chitwan, 150 kilometers (95 miles) southwest of Katmandu.

### India Grounds Its 13 Airbus A-320s

NEW DELHI (AP) — The government on Sunday grounded all 13 Airbus A-320s operated by Indian Airlines pending an investigation into a crash last week, news reports said. Last Wednesday, an A-320 delivered in December crashed while landing at Bangalore, killing 91 of the 146 people on board.

The 150-seat plane, with fully computerized flight control capabilities, will be grounded until all aspects of its operation are investigated, the United News of India said, citing unidentified officials. The agency said pilots had criticized the use of the plane because its technology required matching ground maintenance not available in India.

### Alpine Roads Reopen To Traffic Jams

GRENOBLE, France (AP) — Alpine roads were jammed Sunday as weather brightened and routes to ski resorts that had been cut off by avalanches and mudslides were reopened.

Bottlenecks as long as 18 kilometers (11 miles) formed as roads opened to thousands of vacationers who had been stranded since mid-week tried to leave Val d'Isere, Tignes, Les Arcs and Bourg-Saint-Maurice, and new ones arrived, regional authorities said. Avalanches and mudslides had blocked roads and killed four persons in the Alps. The Interior Ministry said that 15 persons had died and that 2 were missing from avalanches and flooding in much of France last week.

### Cheney Hopes to Ease Manila Strains

HONG KONG (Reuters) — Defense Secretary Dick Cheney, conducting a cost-cutting assessment of U.S. forces in the Pacific, said over the weekend that he wants to ease "unpleasantness" between Washington and Manila during a visit to the Philippines on Monday.

Tension has risen in recent weeks with the approach of negotiations over two key U.S. military bases in the Philippines. President Corason C. Aquino announced that she did not want to meet with Mr. Cheney when he visited Manila. Mr. Cheney said he "would hope that any unpleasantness is minimized. I have tried to respond in a very low-key fashion to Mrs. Aquino's decision not to receive me."

Mr. Cheney will talk with Defense Minister Fidel V. Ramos on Monday on topics including Clark Air Base and the Subic Bay Naval Base. He flies to Japan on Tuesday on the final leg of a two-week trip.

### ETA Makes Offer on Easing Violence

PAMPLONA, Spain (Reuters) — Basque separatists have offered to end their campaign of violence and kidnappings if the government resumes talks that broke off in Algiers last year.

A communiqué issued in Bilbao on Saturday by the Herri Batasuna party said kidnappings like that of the industrialist Adolfo Villalada Martin, 49, set free on Friday night, would cease. Herri Batasuna is the political arm of ETA, the Basque Homeland and Liberty group.

The ETA released Mr. Villalada unhurt after 84 days, reportedly in exchange for 300 million pesetas (\$2.7 million).

## TRAVEL UPDATE

### Siberia-Alaska Flight Accord Is Set

NEW YORK (NYT) — The United States and the Soviet Union have agreed to cooperate in air-traffic control for flights between Alaska and Siberia. The accord sets up air corridors across the Bering Strait and establishes radio communications between controllers in Anchorage, Alaska, and Anadyr, Siberia.

The air link is important because the areas have many cultural ties. Service has been extremely limited since World War II. Alaskan Eskimos who want to visit relatives in Siberia must fly to Tokyo, then north to Siberia, a trip that can take three days. The 220-mile (355-kilometer) flight from Nome, Alaska, to Provideniya, Siberia, takes 45 minutes.

### This Week's Holidays

Banking and government offices will be closed or services curtailed in the following countries and their dependencies this week because of national and religious holidays:

MONDAY: Guam, Puerto Rico, United States.

WEDNESDAY: Bangladesh.

THURSDAY: Jordan.

FRIDAY: Brunei, Guyana, Indonesia, Mauritius, Nepal, Sri Lanka.

SUNDAY: Kuwait, Philippines, Suriname.

Source: Morgan Guaranty Trust Co., Reuters.

## WEATHER

EUROPE				ASIA			
	HIGH	LOW	COND.		HIGH	LOW	COND.
Amsterdam	59	48	C	Bangkok	83	73	C
Berlin	57	46	C	Beijing	63	53	C
Brussels	55	45	C	Hong Kong	77	67	C
Copenhagen	53	43	C	Manila	83	73	C
Dublin	51	41	C	New Delhi	77	67	C
Frankfurt	55	45	C	Shanghai	77	67	C
Geneva	53	43	C	Singapore	83	73	C
London	51	41	C	Tokyo	77	67	C
Madrid	55	45	C				
Moscow	51	41	C	AFRICA			
Paris	53	43	C	Cairo	77	67	C
Rome	51	41	C	Conakry	77	67	C
Stockholm	51	41	C	Lagos	77	67	C
Warsaw	51	41	C	Luanda	77	67	C
				Nairobi	77	67	C
MIDDLE EAST				LATIN AMERICA			
Amman	51	41	C	Buenos Aires	77	67	C
Beirut	51	41	C	Caracas	77	67	C
Bombay	77	67	C	La Paz	77	67	C
Buenos Aires	77	67	C	Lima	77	67	C
Cairo	77	67	C	Managua	77	67	C
Caracas	77	67	C	Medan	77	67	C
Colon	77	67	C	Montevideo	77	67	C
Hankow	77	67	C	Quito	77	67	C
Hong Kong	77	67	C	Santiago	77	67	C
Kobe	77	67	C	Sao Paulo	77	67	C
London	51	41	C	Sao Paulo	77	67	C
Los Angeles	77	67	C	Sao Paulo	77	67	C
Manila	77	67	C	Sao Paulo	77	67	C
Medan	77	67	C	Sao Paulo	77	67	C
Montevideo	77	67	C	Sao Paulo	77	67	C
Moscow	51	41	C	Sao Paulo	77	67	C
Nairobi	77	67	C	Sao Paulo	77	67	C
Paris	53	43	C	Sao Paulo	77	67	C
Rangoon	77	67	C	Sao Paulo	77	67	C
Reykjavik	51	41	C	Sao Paulo	77	67	C
Rio de Janeiro	77	67	C	Sao Paulo	77	67	C
Sao Paulo	77	67	C	Sao Paulo	77	67	C
Seoul	77	67	C	Sao Paulo	77	67	C
Shanghai	77	67	C	Sao Paulo	77	67	C
Singapore	83	73	C	Sao Paulo	77	67	C
Tokyo	77	67	C	Sao Paulo	77	67	C

MONDAY'S FORECAST — CHANNING: Rough, FRANKFURT: Partly cloudy, TUESDAY: Partly cloudy, WEDNESDAY: Partly cloudy, THURSDAY: Partly cloudy, FRIDAY: Partly cloudy, SATURDAY: Partly cloudy, SUNDAY: Partly cloudy.

# Aoun Yields a Key Base to Rival Christian Force

Agence France-Presse

BEIRUT — About 400 fighters loyal to Major General Michel Aoun were evacuated from a base north of Beirut during a cease-fire Sunday in what was seen as a significant setback in his battle with a rival Christian militia.

But General Aoun dismissed the importance of the evacuation, saying on radio that what mattered was that his Christian military unit, which had been isolated and had pushed back advances by the Lebanese Forces militia for 17 days,

"was able to return to army ranks."

The evacuation from the Adma helicopter base was first announced by the Lebanese Forces and later confirmed by a member of a mediating committee set up to end the inter-Christian fighting, which began Jan. 31.

The member of the mediating committee, Shaker Abu Sleiman, said that he was present when the fighters were evacuated in a move meant to "help spare the population and the region further losses." He said that General Aoun's unit

was evacuated with the help of the Red Cross.

A precarious truce was held in and around Beirut after the rival Christian forces battling for supremacy over Christian regions agreed Saturday to a cease-fire, which was brokered by the Maronite patriarch, Nasrallah Sfeir.

The Lebanese Army position Sunday as civilians emerged from shelters to find some houses "in total ruin." The evacuation came a day after the Lebanese Forces went on the

offensive against General Aoun's troops in an apparent retaliation for the loss Friday of the Ain Ramatun suburb of Beirut, a militia stronghold.

The inter-Christian fighting has left 603 dead and 2,128 wounded, most of them fighters.

The Lebanese Forces fought for control of Adma under a heavy barrage of artillery fire, which saw shells exploding "every 10 seconds" in the region, according to a resident.

## Havana Offers Plan to Perfect Party Structure

Washington Post Service

MIAMI — The Cuban Communist Party, responding to mounting economic pressures, has announced a campaign to "perfect" and "revitalize" its organization.

In a statement in the party daily, the Central Committee reaffirmed its commitment to a one-party, Marxist-Leninist system and called on members to improve the party block committees that organize and watch over community life.

After a meeting Friday, the committee said it had to make changes to cope with economic hardships forced on Cubans by the changes and disruptions in East Europe.

The committee said that copying some "errors" from other Communist systems had resulted in heavy bureaucracy and sluggish productivity.

# Mongolians Forge an Opposition Party

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

ULAN BATOR, Mongolia — The country's fledgling democracy movement founded its first opposition party Sunday and immediately called for trials and the mass resignation of Communist leaders.

Some 610 delegates from across the country crowded into an auditorium to hear calls for an end to Mongolia's 69-year-old Communist system.

They also approved a petition demanding that the ruling Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party be brought to account.

"We call for the trial and punishment of those officials who brought the country into foreign dependence and economic crisis with a huge foreign debt," the petition read, referring critics to officials who yielded to Soviet domination.

No individuals were identified, but diplomats said the reference was aimed at the former leader, Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, who lives in the Soviet Union, and at President Jambyn Batmunkh, his successor since 1984.

The petition also demanded the resignation of the Central Committee

of the People's Revolutionary Party and called for the closing of gold mines "exploited" by foreign countries.

Mongolia, a nation three times the size of France wedged between the Soviet Union and China, with a population of just over two million, remained tightly under Moscow's control until a few years ago, when Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader, allowed some autonomy.

The new party grew out of the Mongolian Democratic Association, which since its establishment in December has held several anti-government rallies and repeatedly called for a multiparty system.

In what increasingly seems a race with the opposition, the Communist Party has started working on altering the constitution to permit pluralism before June.

A Foreign Ministry official said that Mr. Batmunkh had in effect recognized the new party by agreeing to hold talks with its leaders soon.

The legal end to the leading role of the People's Revolutionary Party and the establishment of multi-

party politics will occur within months, even weeks, a government source said.

"Long live the Mongolian Democratic Party," shouted Dognmidyn Soorbaram, one of six leaders, proclaiming the birth of the opposition party to a roar of approval from delegates.

The manifesto also said central planning should be replaced with a market-oriented economy, less bureaucracy, elimination of foreign debt, protection of human rights and religious freedom, and private ownership of livestock.

The congress also voted to write Mr. Gorbachev a letter of praise for moving to end the Soviet Communist Party's guarantee of power and for saying that the new Mongolian party was carrying forward his liberalization.

The ruling party has yielded quickly to some of the movement's demands since rallies began in December, drawing thousands of supporters.

Dumaagiyn Sodnom, chairman of the Council of Ministers, told Japanese journalists on Saturday that he thought a one-party system

# Chinese Actions Suggest Sterile Hong Kong Future

By Nicholas D. Kristof

New York Times Service

BEIJING — Perhaps the most symbolic action of the China-appointed committee deciding Hong Kong's fate was the choice last week of the flag to flutter over the territory beginning in 1997: a white bauhinia flower against a revolutionary red background.

What the committee may not have realized is that *Bauhinia blakeana*, meant to represent Hong Kong, is a sterile hybrid that produces no seed.



## Is Bush on a Roll, Or Is It Just Luck?

President Enjoys String of Successes During a Spectacular Few Months

By R.W. Apple Jr.

WASHINGTON — No doubt about it, it has been a spectacular few months for George Bush.

Count the successes: an invasion of Panama that succeeded in deposing the country's dictator, Manuel Antonio Noriega, without projected hostilities and with relatively minor damage to U.S. relations with the rest of Latin America; a deal with the Soviet Union on troop levels in Europe; an agreement on how to manage the reunification of Germany.

People in Washington, stung by the cyclonic rate of change, are asking themselves whether Mr. Bush deserves the credit for all this, or whether he has just been extremely lucky.

If the U.S. arms buildup over the last decade helped to weaken the Soviet Union, by prompting it to spend more on weapons than it could afford—and some reputable experts believe that is the case—then Mr. Bush is entitled to take some credit, as a long-term backer of military budgets.

If Western sanctions in the last few years helped to weaken South Africa, prompting it to rethink its policies and release Nelson Mandela after 27 years of imprisonment, then Mr. Bush does not have credit coming, since he opposed the imposition of sanctions.

In a larger sense, he has had the good fortune to sit in the Oval Office when communism and apartheid approached the end of the line.

He and the world had the good fortune that Mikhail S. Gorbachev and Frederick W. de Klerk held power in Moscow and Pretoria when that became clear, and not leaders who were ready to put their countries (or their parts of the world) through bloodbaths just to preserve the status quo for a few more months or years.

None of that was within the control of Mr. Bush. But he seems to have managed things along in the right direction.

Attacked from time to time as too passive—the columnist George F. Will wrote a few weeks ago of the administration's “intellectual and moral flaccidity”—the president has in fact alternated between two modes of behavior.

Most of the time, he has let the dramatic east of Eastern Europe run its course, and because the stream of history has been flowing in his direction, that policy has proved to be successful.

At irregular intervals, however, he has intervened to shape haphazard developments.

His speech to the North Atlantic Treaty Organization last year in Brussels was one such moment.

So was the Malta summit meeting in December, at which he went beyond expectations to make a series of economic and arms proposals.

### NEWS ANALYSIS

And so was his proposal in his State of the Union address to cut troop levels in Europe.

In each case, Mr. Bush confounded his critics, and the American public, whom he had led to believe that something different was coming.

He has not tried to take charge of events, leaving that central role to Mr. Gorbachev and to the restive peoples east of the Rhine.

But he has worked effectively, in the view of most dispassionate observers, toward a more integrated, much less heavily armed Europe, toward a unified Germany with close ties to the West and toward keeping Mr. Gorbachev and his reformers in power.

None of this has been articulated well. Mr. Bush lacks, or lacks the ability to project, a real sense of history and its great turning points.

The president generally has spoken about the events transforming Europe in the most perfunctory terms and has seemed to sense no need to prepare Americans for the new world that is aborning.

And he has often seemed to lack any broad policy framework.

His insistence on increased funds for the Strategic Defense Initiative, at a moment when no strategic offensive threats are discernible on the horizon; his insistence on sending high-level envoys to the repressive leaders in Beijing, while praising the overthrow of repressive leaders elsewhere; and his seeming inability to settle on one or two major domestic problems on which to concentrate limited federal funds, while promising to do exactly that—all of those things leave a fuzzy image.

This seems to bother most Americans not at all, perhaps because they had enough of ideology and policy consistency with Mr. Bush's predecessor, Ronald Reagan.

The American public seems to look for and enjoy presidents who lack the perceived flavor of their predecessors—for a while.

Opinion polls suggest that Mr. Bush has benefited from having honest people around him, from having a wife who isn't a movie star and doesn't act like one, from his accessibility, as well as from his lack of dogmatism.

## 'Eminent' Washington Anxiously Eyes Its Receding Dateline

By David S. Broder

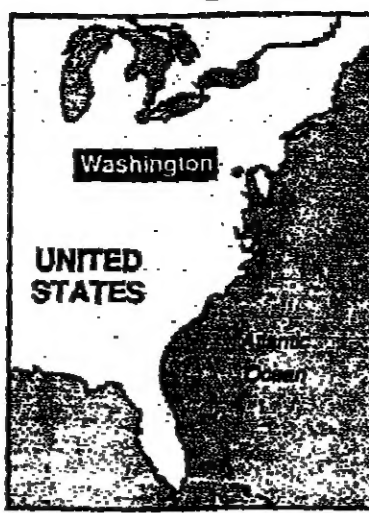
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — Seven years ago, when the National Bank began promoting itself as the No. 1 financial institution in “the most important city in the world,” few Washingtonians snickered or suggested that this designation of their town was undesired.

Today, after a year in which the spotlight of public attention has swung from Warsaw to Beijing to Berlin to Prague to Budapest and most recently to Johannesburg, with frequent stops in Moscow and only an occasional glance at the Potomac, Washington's claim to the title may look as dated as Mike Tyson's heavyweight crown.

“This city,” said the television newsman David Brinkley, a longtime Washingtonian, “is nowhere near as important as it thinks it is.”

If Mr. Brinkley's electronic world is any guide, Washington has slipped—and slipped badly. Of the 330 minutes of actual news on the three main networks evening newscasts Monday through Friday last week, Washington stories totaled less than 44 minutes. And that's a generous reckoning, including, for example,



Losing its place on the map?

Defense Secretary Dick Cheney's visit to the Far East. It also includes the heavy coverage of the indictment of Washington's mayor, Marion S. Barry Jr.—hardly the kind of story that enhances the city's stature.

Arthur M. Schlesinger Jr., the historian and Kennedy White House aide, pinpointed two changes that he and many others said accounted for the eclipse of Washington. “The age of the superpowers has come to an end,” he said, “so military power does not translate to influence, as it once did. And second, despite our wealth, we represent ourselves as poor, or refuse to mobilize our resources, so we circumscribe ourselves.”

Some qualified observers dismiss all this as a temporary phenomenon. “So much has been going on in the world in the last six months,” said Richard Helms, former Central Intelligence Agency director, that “no domestic stories can make it, except the Trumps' divorce.”

Malvin R. Laird, former defense secretary and Wisconsin representative, argued that “if we seem to be mere spectators to the epochal events in Europe, it's because of what we did here over the last 40 years” to help “those once battered and subjugated nations reach the point they can make decisions for themselves.”

“As we look down the road,” Mr. Helms mused, “we can certainly see indications that Washington will not be the

center of the universe, as it was since World War II. It will still be important, but in a world as disorderly as this one, we're going to have a hard time influencing things.”

In the view of Clark M. Clifford, a White House aide under Harry S. Truman and defense secretary under Lyndon B. Johnson, Washington's loss of influence has been steep and palpable.

“This isn't a blip on the screen,” the veteran Washington lawyer said of the capital's seeming slip into semiobscurity. “There was a steady, long, praiseworthy rise to eminence in the world almost unbroken since Rome ruled and Greece had its turn,” he said, adding, “now we are in decline.”

In the days of the Truman Doctrine, the Marshall Plan and the creation of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization, Mr. Clifford said, “we saved the world, and Washington became the capital of the world.”

Partisan Democrat though he is, Mr. Clifford is willing to say that Washington was still playing that role when Richard Nixon signed the first arms-control agreement with the Soviet Union and opened the dialogue with China.

Since then, he said, “we have frittered it away,” largely through the economic policies of the 1980s.

Some staunch Republicans share that view. Silvio O. Conte of Massachusetts, a representative for 31 years, recalled his arrival in Congress.

“I was working with the White House on foreign aid,” he said. “If some problem popped up in the world, it would be nothing to appropriate 50 or 40 million to take care of it. Now we can't do it. Poland, the Philippines, Panama—they all want our help, and they're all important, but we can't do it.”

“We're carrying this huge deficit, and we've become the world's debtor, and that means we've lost control of our own destiny,” he said.

Charles E. Bennett, Democrat of Florida, has been in Congress more than 40 years. He agreed that “we bankrupted the country for the sake of the rich with the 1981 tax bill” and said Congress was “too pusillanimous” to correct the error. But, countering the darker views of Washington's status, he said, “America is still the best-behaved, most generous nation, so it's the center of the world.”

## A Record Spill Is Old Hat in Snowy Valdez

Receives

VALDEZ, Alaska — The world's snowiest city has broken its own record as snow continued to fall.

Federal weather authorities said over the weekend that 396.2 inches (10.06 meters) of snow had fallen this winter on the mountain-ringed city of 3,500 people on Prince William Sound. With two months of Alaska's winter to go, that easily beat the previous Valdez record of 384.7, set in 1987.

The ideal snow conditions in Valdez — best known for its proximity to a March 1989 super-tanker oil spill, the worst in U.S. history — stem from its lying between the world's highest coastal mountains and warm ocean currents.



IS THAT ALL THERE IS? — Judy Higgenbottom surveying the remains of her family's trailer after a tornado struck Chilton County in Alabama and destroyed a dozen residences. The president approved disaster aid for six Alabama counties.

## In AIDS Testing, Many U.S. Hospitals Violate Patients' Rights, Study Finds

By Philip J. Hilts

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Many U.S. hospitals fail to get patients' consent before performing AIDS tests, do not counsel them adequately about the results and lack proper safeguards to ensure confidentiality, a survey has found.

At 3 percent to 4 percent of the hospitals, the survey found, patients are never or only sometimes informed when they are found to be infected, so they may unwittingly infect others after leaving the facility.

“The policies in place among hospitals in this national sample do not provide adequate protection of patients' rights,” concluded the report, sponsored by the Robert Wood Johnson Foundation and the University of California at Los Angeles.

The authors suggested that every patient entering a hospital ask if he or she will be tested for AIDS in

section and what will happen to the results.

The research, which covered 560 randomly selected nongovernment hospitals, is the first large study on AIDS policies in U.S. hospitals.

Howard Freeman, a UCLA sociologist and one of the report's four authors, said the results were troubling because they showed that many hospitals did not follow recommendations made three years ago by the U.S. Centers for Disease Control.

Guidelines of the government and the American Hospital Association call for explaining the test to patients and getting their consent for it; counseling them before testing and afterward, if the result is positive, and making every effort to keep the results confidential.

The federal government does not enforce the guidelines, but some states have laws and can prosecute hospitals that violate them.

Mr. Freeman said that 40 per-

cent of the hospitals surveyed never or only sometimes counsel patients before testing, informed consent is often not obtained from patients, and testing is conducted without the knowledge of patients in some hospitals. In 25 percent of the hospitals, those whose tests are negative for the virus are never told.

Two-thirds of the hospitals indicate AIDS infection on patient charts despite the federal guidelines on confidentiality.

Many hospitals routinely test for AIDS, partly to protect staff members from accidental infection and partly to help prevent the spread of the disease by informing patients who are infected.

Twenty percent of the hospitals in the survey reported at least one instance of a staff member's refusing to treat patients infected with the AIDS virus, and about 25 percent of the hospitals immediately transfer patients to other facilities if they are found to be infected.

## U.S. Medical Profession Demoralized by Change

Autonomy and Prestige Are Eroded

By Lawrence K. Altman

and Elisabeth Rosenthal

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Changes in American medical practice have shattered the profession, leaving many doctors deeply demoralized.

In the last quarter-century, and especially in the last 10 years, doctors have seen their autonomy eroded, their future earnings potential jeopardized, their prestige reduced and their competence challenged by everyone from oversight boards to hostile, litigious patients.

The image of the dedicated physician tolling long hours for the good of his patients is fading fast, replaced by salaried doctors who work 9 to 5.

Doctors who finished training as late as 1980 look at the field of medicine and say they do not recognize the landscape. “My father was a pediatrician, and I grew up surrounded by doctors who always seemed to be satisfied, loved medicine and were appreciated by their patients,” said Dr. Scott Fox, who practices ear, nose and throat surgery in Massachusetts.

He is president of the Barnstable County Medical Society, but in six months he will put down his stethoscope and enter law school. “Two years ago, just before my father died, he encouraged me to apply,” Dr. Fox said. “As we talked, we realized the medicine he and I had cherished was finally dead.”

The degree of dissatisfaction among doctors is astonishingly high for a profession typically regarded as one of the most important and best paid in the United States.

A survey by Gallup for the American Medical Association last year found that almost 40 percent of the doctors interviewed said that based on what they now knew they would definitely or probably not enter medical school if they had a career choice to make.

Many who study the profession believe that doctors brought the changes on themselves, said Professor Uwe Reinhardt of Princeton, an expert in health care economics. “Physicians have lived like kids in a candy store,” he said. “We, the payers, want the key back.”

Young Americans pondering career choices apparently have their own reservations—applications to medical school have dropped 25 percent over the last five years.

When American Medical News asked doctors last year to describe how their practices had changed in the 1980s, the association newspe-

per said that “the question struck a nerve.”

“Dozens of physicians responded with lengthy, heartfelt reflections, many of them expressing frustration with the changes in their profession.”

Few doctors are so dissatisfied they are leaving the profession; in fact, the number of doctors has increased faster than the population. But there are many signs that medicine is changing and beginning to lose its appeal.

The days are long gone when a doctor alone decided on treatment and set fees that patients paid out of their own pockets. Today, according to the association, 79 percent of the average physician's payments come from federal and private health insurance programs, which are demanding increasing accountability from doctors.

Today, most young doctors favor working in group practices or health maintenance organizations that provide comprehensive care for a flat fee.

As the number of doctors has increased, an intense competition has resulted in some areas, both for patients and hospital privileges.

Physicians remain highly paid, but incomes are leveling off in some specialties, and the Association of American Medical Colleges now warns all applicants for medical school, “Physicians need to lower their income targets and their expectations for autonomy and independent decision making.”

In five years, there has been a drop of 5,000 in the number of applicants for medical school.

Medicine is heading toward a demographic revolution, in which the traditional dominance of white male doctors is yielding to an influx of women and minority members that could radically change how medicine is practiced.

Women, for example, are often more interested in the specialties that treat the primary medical needs of patients, and they have lower income expectations than in highly paid specialties like surgery.

Complaints from doctors draw scant sympathy from government leaders and private organizations trying to slow the rise in medical costs, which are largely determined by physicians' decisions.

With health care accounting for about 12 percent of the gross national product—about twice what it was when Medicare was enacted in 1965—many private and government groups say the country can no longer afford to give doctors a blank check.

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Herald Tribune

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## RIEFS

essail Gorbachev nationalists staged a women's rally in St. Petersburg, Russia, to protest against the president's policies in the former Soviet republics.

Expat Husek Gustav Husek, former Czechoslovak leader, was removed from his post as ambassador to the United States after a scandal involving his private life.

epal Protests In police battles with demonstrators, at least 10 people were wounded, and at least 100 were arrested in Kathmandu during the first day of the protests.

Airbus A-320s sent on Sunday grounded all flights pending an investigation of a crash in Bangladesh, killing 91 of the 115 people on board.

n to Traffic Jams roads were jammed Sunday, as thousands of people gathered for the annual festival in India.

se Manila Straits Secretary Dick Cheney, conferring with the Pacific, said one of the least successful between Washington and Manila on Monday.

n Easing Violence Basque separatists have offered kidnappings if the government last year.

UPDATE ht Accord Is Set ed States and the Soviet Union to control for flights between Alaska and the Bering Sea.

e the areas have many cultural sites from World War II. Alaska's state must fly to Tokyo, then on days. The 220-mile (355-kilometer) journey, Siberia, takes 45 minutes.

will be closed or services curtailed dependencies this week because of bad weather.

and States. is, Mauritius, Nepal, Sri Lanka, and others.

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# Nicaragua Election: Few Clues to Result

By Mark A. Uhlig  
New York Times Service

MANAGUA — After a decade of war, economic crisis and political polarization, Nicaraguans will vote Sunday in this country's first free and broadly contested democratic election.

But because most voters, wary of such freedom, remain deeply reluctant to discuss their views, even the best-informed specialists say they are at a loss to predict who will win.

The problem, diplomats say, is not necessarily that the vote will be close but that clues to its outcome remain scarce and contradictory.

The elections, held under the terms of regional peace accords, are expected to be a turning point in Nicaragua's long internal conflict, serving as a decisive referendum on the Sandinista revolution and the bitter controversies surrounding it.

The vote will be observed by hundreds of trained and coordinated monitoring teams from the United Nations and the Organization of American States and by a delegation led by former President Jimmy Carter.

Unlike a nationwide vote in 1984, all major opposition groups are taking part.

And all sides have expressed confidence in the preparations.

But in a country racked by years of political and economic turmoil, there is profound uncertainty about what the ballot will reveal.

Controversy has raged about Sandinista campaign techniques, U.S. financial support for the main opposition coalition, the continued presence of contra rebel forces and the Sandinista refusal to admit a

Bush administration delegation to monitor the vote.

Yet the central issue — the loyalties of 1.7 million Nicaraguan voters — remains a cipher.

"Each side can give convincing arguments to show why it will win," a European ambassador said. "But the fact is that nobody knows what to expect — not even the party leaders themselves."

Since the campaign took shape in September, conventional wisdom in Managua has suggested that the governing Sandinista National Liberation Front will be an easy winner against the weak and divided National Opposition Union, the opposition coalition.

Pointing to the extensive Sandinista party organization, together with the large numbers of state workers and military troops that depend on the Sandinistas for their living, diplomats and government officials have spoken of the "mathematical" inevitability of a Sandinista victory.

That argument has been reinforced by the emigration of large numbers of anti-Sandinista Nicaraguans — at least 10 percent of the population in the last decade.

And the dominance of the Sandinista position has been driven home by an expensive, highly professional political campaign.

Sandinista advertising has overwhelmed the opposition's token efforts and well-organized rallies throughout the country have featured at least one of the two key Sandinista candidates, President Daniel Ortega Saavedra and Vice President Sergio Ramirez Mercado.

But reporters and diplomats who have devoted extensive time and effort to interviewing voters throughout the country have long found a much higher level of anti-Sandinista feeling than outward appearances would suggest.

In the majority of cases, the sentiment appears to be directed not so much in favor of the opposition coalition or even its presidential candidate, Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, but rather against the economic hardships in a country that has been battered by 10 years of war and political conflict.

"We are dying of hunger," said a woman in Matagalpa, north of Managua.

## AMERICAN TOPICS

### After Panama, Stress Is on Urban Warfare

The U.S. Army is putting fresh emphasis on urban warfare training since the invasion of Panama in December. In that operation, U.S. forces met some of their heaviest opposition from urban guerrillas in the buildings and shantytowns of Panama City.

Infantrymen have always particularly detested urban warfare — fighting from building to building and street to street. Progress is slow, casualties high. The presence of civilian noncombatants makes it even more complicated.

In a training exercise last week, the 700 soldiers of the 1st Battalion, 82d Airborne Division, secured a mock town after nearly four hours of fighting, which left 22 U.S. "dead" and 46 "wounded."

The Pentagon estimates that 220 Panamanian civilians were killed during the U.S. invasion of Panama, most of them in cities and shantytowns.

"Given the population trends throughout the Third World," said Augustus Richard Norton, a professor at the U.S. Military



**BEARING A CHILD TO SAVE A CHILD** — Anissa Ayala, a 17-year-old Californian suffering from leukemia, with her mother, Mary, right, who is expecting another daughter in April. Mrs. Ayala, 43, is having the baby in hopes that its bone marrow will save Anissa's life. Doctors have raised questions about whether a marrow transplant would be in the baby's best interests.

Academy at West Point, New York, "the prospect for urban warfare has actually increased markedly over the past several decades."

### Notes About People

Four former presidents of the United States agree: It was a great

job but they would not want to run again. Richard Nixon, 77, asked whether he would like the job again, said, "Not if I have to answer such silly questions as this one!" Gerald Ford, also 77, said, "The time has come for younger people to serve the country." Jimmy Carter, 65, said that he and his wife, Rosalynn, did not "miss the

pomp, ceremony and perks" of the presidency and that he would not want to return. Ronald Reagan, 79, said he enjoyed going to his ranch once a month, watching movies and inspiring others to accomplish things that his administration had been unable to achieve. The interviews were published by USA Weekend, a Sun-

day supplement in about 280 U.S. newspapers.

The Secret Service has given up arranging elaborate security for every place George Bush visits, because he hops around so much, not only speaking but shopping and restaurant-going. U.S. News & World Report magazine says the Secret Service has decided that stealth and surprise, rather than overwhelming security, are the best protection. A Bush adviser said: "Nobody ever goes to a local department store on the off-chance that the president of the United States is coming."

Sidney Biddle Barrows, 37, a descendant of the Pilgrims, who was arrested in 1984 for running a high-class call-girl ring and who then wrote her autobiography, "Mayflower Madam," is out with a new book, "Mayflower Manners." It is subtitled "Etiquette for Consenting Adults." Some questions and answers: Is it rude to rip an exotic garment off a woman? It depends on how much it cost. When two people meet through personal ads, who is the host? Whoever placed the ad.

### Short Takes

Exporting perestroika: The Harvard Business School has admitted its first four Soviet citizens.

Their previous jobs were managing finances for a tractor factory, traveling abroad for the Soviet chamber of commerce, doing scientific consulting and helping run a research group. They will intern for five months with American companies before entering the Class of 1992. Graduates usually wave dollar bills at commencement. Said Alexei Maximov, 30: "If the ruble is convertible by then I will wave a ruble; if not, the red flag."

Baltimore's new ballpark, contends Tom Callahan of The Washington Post, should be named Babe Ruth Stadium, after the city's most famous son. Indeed, George Herman Ruth, although not an orphan, grew up in a children's home on the site of the new stadium. His first job in organized baseball was with the Baltimore Orioles, but they were a minor league team at the time. He soon went to the Boston Red Sox and then to the New York Yankees, whose Yankee Stadium is nicknamed "The House That Ruth Built." Ballparks are named for owners, rivers, teams, politicians. None yet honors a player. It is time, Mr. Callahan says; it is "fitting and right."

Arthur Higbee

### U.S. Preparing To Improve Ties If Ortega Wins

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — The Bush administration is considering possible steps to improve relations with Nicaragua if the Sandinistas win Sunday's elections.

State Department officials said over the weekend that they were reviewing policy toward Nicaragua so that the United States would be prepared to respond when the election results were announced.

A U.S. official said "we shake our heads in disbelief" at the possibility that Nicaraguans might reelect Daniel Ortega Saavedra. But, he said, if the Sandinistas win, "that would destroy any justification for our continuing to support" the contra rebels.

## Vladimir Shcherbitsky, Former Ukrainian Leader, Is Dead

The Associated Press

MOSCOW — Vladimir V. Shcherbitsky, 71, a former member of the ruling Soviet Politburo and veteran chief of the Ukrainian Communist Party, died Friday after a long illness, Tass press agency said.

Mr. Shcherbitsky, who ran the Ukraine and its 50 million people with an iron hand for 17 years, was retired from the Politburo on Sept. 20 in a shake-up orchestrated by President Mikhail S. Gorbachev.

Mr. Shcherbitsky was one of the last Politburo members from the days of President Leonid I. Brezhnev. Before the removal of Mr. Shcherbitsky, activists in the Ukraine blamed him and his men for slowing down economic and political change.

After service in the Soviet Army during World War II, Mr. Shcherbitsky began his climb in the party

hierarchy by becoming second secretary of the Dnepropetrovsk city party committee in 1948.

In 1961, he became prime minister of the Ukraine and joined the Communist Party Central Committee in Moscow.

He was appointed a full member of the Politburo under Mr. Brezhnev in 1971.

The Tass obituary was signed by Mr. Gorbachev and other members of the Politburo.

Keith Haring, 31, Graphic Artist

NEW YORK (NYT) — Keith Haring, 31, an artist whose graphic talents made him one of the stars of the youthful 1980s art scene and whose images could be found as often on T-shirts as in museums, died of AIDS on Friday at his home in Manhattan.

During his brief but meteoric career, Mr. Haring invented a cartoonish universe inhabited by crawling children, barking dogs and dancing figures, all set in motion by staccatolike lines.

This universe was first mapped in the New York City subway system, where the young artist, still a student, was inspired by what he considered the beauty and immediacy of graffiti. As his art became better known and was shown in galleries and museums throughout the world, his prices rose to as much as \$350,000 for a canvas.

Jack C. Massey, 85, Co-Founded Hospital Corp.

NASHVILLE, Tennessee (AP) — Jack C. Massey, 85, who helped build Kentucky Fried Chicken Co. into an international success and co-founded Hospital Corp. of America, died of pneumonia Thursday.

From a chain of six drugstores, the Nashville businessman founded Massey Surgical Supply Inc. in 1930. He sold that company in 1961. In 1964, Mr. Massey and a businessman, John V. Brown, who later became governor of Kentucky, bought Kentucky Fried Chicken from its founder, Colonel Harland Sanders. They sold the business in 1969.

Mr. Massey founded Hospital Corp. of America in 1968. Within 10 years the firm had reached \$1 billion in sales and was the largest owner and operator of hospitals in the United States. Mr. Massey retired from the company in 1978.

Keyes Beech, 76, Journalist In Asia and Pulitzer Winner

WASHINGTON (NYT) — Keyes Beech, 76, who for many years was a foreign correspondent in Asia for the Chicago Daily News

and won a Pulitzer Prize in 1951 for his reporting on the Korean War, died of emphysema Thursday in Washington.

Mr. Beech covered Asia for five decades, first as a combat correspondent after joining the Marine Corps in 1942. He spent most of his years in Asia working for the Chicago Daily News. His last post was in Bangkok, where he served as a correspondent for the Los Angeles Times until his retirement in 1983.

### Other deaths:

Jean Wallace, 66, a film actress of the 1940s and 1950s, Wednesday of an internal hemorrhage in Beverly Hills, California.

Brendan Corish, 71, former leader of the Irish Labor Party and deputy prime minister from 1973 to 1977, Saturday of undisclosed causes in Wexford, Ireland.

### Iranian Views Differ On Soccer Stadium Riot

Reuters

NICOSIA — Iranian newspapers on Sunday criticized opponents for joining a Tehran soccer riot that an opposition group said turned into a major anti-government protest.

"Opportunists are always waiting in the wings to fish in troubled waters," Jomhoori Islami said of Friday's rioting outside Shiroudi Stadium.

Iranian newspapers on Sunday criticized opponents for joining a Tehran soccer riot that an opposition group said turned into a major anti-government protest.

"Opportunists are always waiting in the wings to fish in troubled waters," Jomhoori Islami said of Friday's rioting outside Shiroudi Stadium.

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**Soviet Hit by N**  
The Soviet Union is hit by a new wave of...  
**ROMANIA**  
Romania is hit by a new wave of...  
**SOVIET:**  
The Soviet Union is hit by a new wave of...



## Soviet Central Asia Hit by New Protests

Reuters

MOSCOW — The wave of protest sweeping Soviet Central Asia spread to Kazakhstan over the weekend as new demonstrations erupted in Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan, where 18 persons were killed in rioting last week. Thousands of people rallied in Dushanbe on Sunday after the collapse of an accord between local officials and the republic's increasingly assertive mass movements. In Almaty, the capital of Kazakhstan, "many thousands" demonstrated Saturday to demand an end to the region's economic exploitation by Moscow and a halt to nuclear weapons testing in the republic, Moscow Radio said. The protests, called by local independent groups, had been approved by local authorities. The rally in Kazakhstan, where ethnic rioting broke out in 1986, was the first mass protest reported in the republic since the latest wave of protests began in Central Asia, a huge territory bordering on Iran, Afghanistan and China that is home to most of the Soviet Union's Muslim population. Last week, clashes erupted in Uzbekistan, a Central Asian republic sandwiched between Tajikistan and Kazakhstan, and a curfew was imposed on the city of Samarkand. Moscow Radio said the rioting involved Tajiks, the majority in the city, and Armenians. Rumors that Armenians who have fled rioting in Transcaucasia are being given scarce housing in Tajikistan set off the trouble last week in Dushanbe, where political activists clashed with thousands of troops and police for several days. The Communist Party newspaper Pravda said Sunday that the riots in Dushanbe caused losses of more than \$40 million. The crowd that demonstrated here Sunday demanded improvements in the republic's environment, greater economic autonomy and better living conditions in the impoverished city of half a million, a spokesman for the local Communist Party newspaper said. The rally Sunday apparently had the tacit support of local authorities, who are under pressure to lead off ethnic attacks. The unofficial mass gatherings last week, many of which turned violent, ended after an agreement between a committee of grass-roots leaders and local officials. The agreement called for the resignation of the Tajikistan leadership, but the Communist Party's policy-making Central Committee has refused to approve the deal. The official Tass press agency reported that Dushanbe remained "unstable" despite the presence of

## JAPAN: LDP Leads Vote

(Continued from page 1)

couldn't deny the LDP a majority," she said. Although the elections are unlikely to produce dramatic changes in policy, analysts viewed the emergence of two dominant parties as a first step in reshaping a national political structure that has drawn increasing criticism from both voters and politicians in recent years. "I see little change in Japan's future direction, especially in its foreign policies," said Yoji Ootaka, a six-term Liberal Democratic member of the Diet from Tokyo. Voter turnout was unofficially reported by NHK, the state-controlled broadcast network, at 71 percent, compared with 66 percent in national elections four years ago. Commentators said the increase reflected rising concern about Japan's international challenges as well as the domestic controversies.

For the governing party, the results were taken as an important vindication for voters after more than a year of declining popularity. Several senior Liberal Democrats forced to resign because of the Recruit financial scandal, in which underpriced stock was offered to politicians before the public, were among the early winners. These included the former prime minister, Noboru Takeshita; Shintaro Abe, the former head of the party, and Kiichi Miyazawa, the former finance minister. Sosuke Uno, who was forced to

## Watching Over Germany: Focus of NATO Shifts From Pact

By Bernard E. Trainor

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — As the Soviet threat to Western Europe diminishes and the Warsaw Pact becomes a hollow alliance, the role of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization is shifting and the alliance is emerging as a potential watchdog over a reunified Germany.

Eastern European governments favor Germany's remaining in NATO to provide a virtual leash on it, a senior Pentagon official said.

Although the focus of NATO for 40 years has centered on the military threat from the Soviet Union, another tacit reason for the alliance was the maintenance of military control over a rearmament West Germany through an integrated NATO command structure.

But as the Soviet threat recedes and German unity becomes an unexpected near-term reality, senior officials say the view within the Bush administration and in Western capitals is that they want the alliance that was set up to deter war to be transformed into one maintaining stability in Central Europe.

As a result, U.S. officials say, while the

administration and European nations support the unification of the two Germanys, the allies recognize that the prospect of a single Germany stirs concern and uncertainty through both Western and Eastern Europe.

To meet that concern, administration officials are adamant that a new Germany must be part of NATO not only to

### NEWS ANALYSIS

guard against a re-emergence of a Soviet threat, but also to allay the security concerns about Germany in both Eastern and Western Europe.

"Europeans have bitter memories of Nazi Germany and are genuinely uneasy about reunification," a senior Pentagon official said. "Eastern Europeans and the Poles in particular fear German revanchism and see German membership in NATO as a guarantee of good behavior."

It is also widely known that France, Britain and other NATO allies are uneasy about the consequences of German reunification.

The Bonn government of Chancellor Helmut Kohl has said that a reunified

Germany would remain in NATO. And to mollify the Soviet Union, the West German government has proposed that NATO forces not be deployed in what is now East German territory.

Under the plan, which was recently endorsed by Secretary of State James A. Baker 3d, some Soviet forces might be allowed to remain in what is now East Germany, at least temporarily.

Publicly, Soviet officials have said that the Soviet Union would not accept a reunified Germany in NATO. But privately, U.S. officials say, the Soviet response has been less resolute.

Some military officers and specialists believe that without NATO oversight, a unified Germany could give new life to the Warsaw Pact. Essentially, they say, if a unified Germany were not in NATO, that could open the way for Eastern Europe to view the Soviet Union as its protector.

"If a reunited Germany is in NATO, it is just a matter of time before all Soviet troops are back behind their borders," said David Ishy, a specialist on the Warsaw Pact.

"But without a NATO watchdog, even a neutralized Germany could cause the Eastern countries to see the Soviet Army in a different light and breathe new life into the Pact."

Concern about German reunification also resonates within the Warsaw Pact. The role of the East European military alliance is diminishing as newly independent members assert themselves and ask the Soviets to leave their territory.

Before long, the only Soviet troops left facing NATO will be in East Germany. These Soviet troops are, in all likelihood, in a militarily untenable position.

The troops are seen to be isolated in an unfriendly country with their supply line to the Soviet Union running through Poland, where the Soviets currently have two divisions.

If those forces are withdrawn from Poland, the combat units further west — in East Germany — will be cut off unless the Poles guarantee the Soviets transit rights.

Some analysts believe that the Poles might provide such a guarantee out of fear of a reunited Germany, unless the German military is effectively controlled

by its integration into NATO and a continued U.S. presence on German soil. The Soviets currently have about 560,000 soldiers and airmen in Eastern Europe, of which about 400,000 are in East Germany.

The United States has slightly more than 326,000 troops in its European command. Of these, 243,000 are in West Germany.

It has agreed to reduce the number in the central region to 195,000 while maintaining an additional 30,000 troops on the NATO flanks.

From a U.S. perspective, these levels are a ceiling for the Soviets but a floor for the United States.

According to a senior Pentagon official, U.S. reductions are expected to be completed by 1993, but withdrawal of the Soviet troops will probably be faster because East European nations are already asking Moscow to remove its forces.

Department officials say that the details of the U.S. troop reduction are being worked out, but that the cuts are roughly equal to the withdrawal of one of the two U.S. Army corps in West Germany.



Ichiro Ozawa, general secretary of the Liberal Democratic Party, toiling off on Sunday as he watched televised returns in Tokyo.

## WALL: The Rush to German Unity GERMANY: Dispute on Troops

(Continued from page 1)

and probably future capital of the country?

Over the coming months, diplomats from Europe and the superpowers will wrangle over many legal and security issues that boil down to one great controversy that has puzzled historians and philosophers for a century: Germany's national character.

At the end of World War II, the Allies promised that German expansionism and militarism would never again be allowed to throw the planet into the netherworld of genocide and state-sponsored hate.

But after 40 years of successful democracy in West Germany and the bloodless people's revolution against the Stalinist regime in East Germany last fall, the limbo of postwar occupation is ending. Thousands of troops on both sides will be going home, maybe all of them at some point.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl says unity will come this year. But the idea of recreating the country that plunged the world into two great wars still makes many nations nervous.

The French and British are concerned that the balance of power in

Europe will be upset as Western troops pull back from German soil. The Americans are eager to maintain the NATO alliance that has helped keep Europe at peace for 45 years.

The Soviet Union wants the new Germany to be constructed so that it cannot threaten Soviet territory. Until this month, the Soviets said that could be accomplished only by creating a neutral, demilitarized Germany. The idea is anathema to the Western powers, which consider Germany an essential ally.

The Soviets have now signaled that they will consider other ways of keeping the peace, but it remains unclear whether this might include the West German proposal to keep Germany in NATO, but without foreign troops in the former East Germany.

Valentin M. Falin, a member of the Supreme Soviet and a top adviser to President Mikhail S. Gorbachev on Germany, seemed to rule out such a plan Saturday in a West German radio interview. "If the Western alliance sticks with its demand for a NATO membership of all of Germany, then there won't be any reunification," he said.

But says the new state should be neutral. NATO and West Germany say a unified Germany must remain in the Western alliance.

Western officials have suggested the Soviet Union, which has 380,000 troops in East Germany, could keep some forces there during a transition period.

There were reports in West Germany on Saturday that Chancellor Helmut Kohl had made two concessions to the Kremlin leadership as the price of reunification.

The reports, quickly denied by the government press office in Bonn, alleged that Mr. Kohl had given a promise about Poland's Western border and had guaranteed delivery of various products to the Soviet Union.

According to Der Spiegel magazine, Mr. Kohl guaranteed East German contractual obligations to deliver various products to the Soviet Union.

The conservative Welt am Sonntag newspaper, which also reported such an agreement had been reached, said the products were mainly food and farm equipment. Mrs. Thatcher said Sunday that

steps were needed to make the rest of Europe feel secure.

"We want to see Germany remain part of NATO with American and other troops stationed there, with some special arrangements for East Germany, to meet the Soviet Union's security concerns," she told the Board of Deputies of British Jews, Britain's leading Jewish group.

"Indeed, it would be quite reasonable for some Soviet troops to remain there at least for a transitional period," she said in her clearest statement yet on the question of German unity.

She said that a new Germany must respect existing treaties and agreements, including the Helsinki Final Act, which recognizes existing borders in Europe and the rights of the Allies in Germany.

Mr. Baker, discussing Soviet demands for a neutral Germany, said in a television interview: "We're going to have to see the degree to which they really feel that way. For myself, I would tell you that I'm not so sure that they really strongly feel that way."

(Reuters, AP)

## ROMANIA: Protesters Invade Government Offices

(Continued from page 1)

ber three in the provisional government, after President Ion Iliescu and Prime Minister Petre Roman. As the demonstration began, placards and chants branded Mr. Iliescu "another Communist dictator" and declared that his style of government was no better than that of Mr. Ceausescu.

Brandishing iron rods, the crowd smashed its way into the building on Victory Square that has been the provisional government's base since it took power on Dec. 22.

The demonstrators broke in after soldiers hurried away several protesters who had scaled the building and seized a Romanian flag from a balcony. More than 1,000 people in front of the building cheered as protesters smashed the windows and glass-and-metal doors. About 500 people poured in.

They found a cabinet filled with books by Mr. Ceausescu and red-banded Communist Party manuals and hurled them from the balcony.

The Romanian news agency Romsprea reported that 20 soldiers were seriously injured, although this could not be confirmed.

In Paris, Mr. Roman said that the protesters represented an insignificant number of Romanians and that officials in Bucharest had assured him "all was in order."

After nightfall, reports that demonstrators had been arrested and taken out a side door sent hundreds of protesters scurrying from the square to find them. The reports could not be confirmed.

Protesters also insisted that Mr. Ceausescu's hated secret police, the Securitate, had gone underground but retained their power.

Supporters of the National Sal-

vation Front held a small counter-demonstration outside the building housing Mr. Iliescu's office, shouting, "Terrorists, terrorists."

In parliament on Saturday, Mr. Iliescu said he would quit the leadership "if someone else was prepared to assume the personal risk."

He was speaking at a ceremony marking the appointment of Lieutenant General Victor Stanculescu as the new defense minister. He replaces General Nicolae Militaru, who resigned Friday after Romanian officers demonstrated for several days to demand his removal.

The demonstration Sunday was far smaller than an anti-government protest Jan. 25 in which more than 15,000 people demanded that the National Salvation Front open itself to opposition parties.

That protest and a violent pro-government demonstration the following day, along with attacks on the headquarters of major opposition parties, led to the creation of the provisional Council of National Unity that is to rule until general elections are held on May 20.

The Council includes 37 political parties and various other interest groups, but critics say the National Salvation Front retains control. (Reuters, AP)

## Egypt and Libya Settle on Trade

Reuters

ASWAN, Egypt — The leaders of Egypt and Libya, ending a decade-long dispute, agreed Sunday to set up joint committees on banking and trade.

The Libyan leader, Colonel Muammar Gadhafi, arrived in Aswan for his second visit since a breakthrough in relations last May at an Arab summit meeting in Morocco. Relations between the two countries broke down in 1979 when Egypt signed a peace treaty with Israel.

Information Minister Safwat Sherif said that President Hosni Mubarak and Colonel Gadhafi agreed to establish a joint committee, comprising central bank governors and other financial representatives. He said that a second committee would be formed for economic cooperation and the removal of all trade barriers.

Every day, thousands of people stream past the hilltop grave site. Women press handkerchiefs to their faces, and an occasional wail interrupts Islamic prayers for the dead from a public address system.

On Tuesday, the 77th body was buried in the park, an Azerbaijani man who had been shot through the throat and lingered in a hospital for 26 days. The official death count has crept up to 142.

Photographs circulate in the city, reinforcing the sense of grievance. They show the bullet-riddled bodies of bare-chested Azerbaijani men laid out on a hospital floor, an ambulance crushed by tanks, a bus strafed by machine-gun fire.

In his apartment, one middle-class resident flipped through a stack of videotapes, offering a visitor a choice of carnage, interviews with anguished witnesses or highlights from the months of political confrontation between the Popular Front and the Communist Party.

Jerusalem — Israel has deported a Yugoslav suspected of spying for the Palestine Liberation Organization. Police said that Patricia Karsavich was alleged to have photographed military sites in northern Israel for the PLO.

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# Herald Tribune

Published With The New York Times and The Washington Post

## Marxism Subverted

Karl Marx must be cringing in his grave. The draft platform of the Soviet Union's Communist Party that was published last week contains an economic bombshell: approval of private ownership of private capital. This proposed surrender of the party's economic dictatorship is every bit as radical as the document's proposed surrender of the party's 70-year political dictatorship.

The platform paves the way for private ownership of factories, farms and large-scale equipment. From there, it is only a matter of time before the Soviets allow private owners of capital to hire workers. And once that ideological bridge is crossed, the difference between the Soviet economy and the mixed economies of countries like Sweden will be a matter of degree. Communism, as we know it, will have disappeared.

A central tenet of Soviet communism has been public ownership of the means of production and the prohibition of hiring labor. Private hiring of labor, Marx taught, meant that one person would unjustifiably consume what another person produced. The only way to stop this "exploitation of man by man" was to abolish private capital.

But the Soviet alternative, centralized control over the entire economy, has failed. And recent piecemeal tinkering with property laws, like legalizing cooperatives and joint stock companies, has accomplished little. Mikhail Gorbachev recognizes that to motivate more productive work, he must expose government enterprises to the discipline of markets.

Fearing political backlash, he has not proposed tampering with the laws that pro-

hibit private hiring. The draft platform does not mention the hiring of labor, a telling omission. By not reaffirming it, Mr. Gorbachev may be inching toward repeal.

The draft platform is full of ambiguities and contradictions. In nearly the same paragraph that it approves private capital, it rules out any form of property that alienates or exploits workers. In other words, no private capital to speak of. Yet the ambiguities may well serve an important purpose.

Reformers do not need a clean document. They need a permissive document. By approving even some role for private capital and market discipline, reformers have won the ideological battle. Now, believing history and economics to be on their side, they are confident of victory.

The reformers have no intention of recreating capitalism. They will preserve public ownership of important economic sectors — the "commanding heights" — even as they permit private ownership at the foothills. If the Soviet Union can figure out how to make an economy based on public enterprises productive, it will continue to look very different from Western Europe. But no one has yet solved that puzzle.

The Soviets are committed to social equality. They will preserve a generous safety net for the disadvantaged and reject the inequities they observe in the West. The challenge is for them to find a system that preserves equality yet sustains economic growth. The stirring economic news of their draft platform is that they seem determined to do that as pragmatists, not as Marxist ideologues.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

## A Quandary for Bush

President Bush faces a quandary in Nicaragua. On Feb. 25 the Sandinistas may conduct the most open vote in their country's undemocratic history. That has been the administration's most insistent condition for dismantling the contra rebels and ending punitive sanctions. If the outcome is an upset victory for the opposition candidate, Violeta Barrios de Chamorro, the cheering will be led by Mr. Bush.

But suppose the Sandinistas win in a contest judged fair by monitors like Jimmy Carter and Elliot Richardson. Will the president honor the outcome? Mr. Bush could yield to the clamor on his right flank and find a pretext for disputing the result. But this would be pique, not policy. More important, it would ignore changing realities, dishonor principle and mock hopes for peace and pluralism in Central America.

Consider Washington's three complaints about the Sandinistas, invoked to justify President Reagan's undeclared contra war: The Soviet threat. From the moment they assumed power in 1979, the Sandinistas turned to the Soviet bloc for arms and advisers. As Nicaragua's arsenal grew, so did fears about a Soviet toehold in the Americas. But under Mikhail Gorbachev, if military aid has continued, belligerent expansionism has not.

Arming guerrillas. The Sandinistas have violated frontiers by aiding insurgents elsewhere. Months ago, a planeload of mis-

siles intended for Salvadoran rebels was intercepted. Exposure forced the Sandinistas to halt arms aid and join a declaration supporting the Salvadoran government.

Shifting democracy. In the Reagan years, no theme was more insistent than Nicaragua's suppression of political opponents and the press. This was dismissed by Sandinistas as propaganda to justify an illegal war. But they could not ignore their growing isolation in the region, and in 1987 Managua agreed, grudgingly, to a peace plan initiated by President Oscar Arias Sánchez of Costa Rica.

As required by the plan, Nicaragua has eased press controls and offered an amnesty to returning contras. The forthcoming election will provide more choices for more offices than ever before. Half the polling places will be scrutinized by international monitors. If Mr. Ortega wins, he will still need to contend with a legislative opposition strong enough to check one-party autocracy.

Mr. Bush is thus positioned to make the most of real gains for democracy in Nicaragua. He could condition an end to sanctions on continued acceptance of genuine pluralism. But fairness would also require Washington to demobilize the contras, as stipulated by the same peace pact Nicaragua is asked to honor. By so doing, the president would reciprocate Mr. Gorbachev's wisdom in letting smaller countries seek their own way.

—THE NEW YORK TIMES

## Back Behind the Barrel

U.S. oil imports last month shot up to well over half the country's supply. The volume was substantially higher than at the time of the oil crises of 1973 or 1980. Part of the explanation was a surge of demand to refill storage tanks drawn down in an unusually cold December. But there is also the fact that domestic oil production has been falling steadily for five years.

From month to month the import figures bounce around according to the weather. But the underlying pattern is likely to be a dismayingly rapid rise. U.S. oil consumption is not going up. But the fall in U.S. production, as old fields are exhausted, means that the country's dependence on foreign sources will continue to increase.

The oil industry believes that the solution is to try harder to increase the flow from American wells. One way to do that would be to use tax breaks to encourage more drilling. Another would be to speed up the leasing of offshore sites. Neither is likely to be very effective.

But few people would want their government just to string and resign itself to periodic oil shortages. The costs are enormous. Each of the last two crises resulted in a severe recession. In each, rapid economic

growth had sent oil demand soaring, and then, when production was being pushed to its limit, a political event suddenly cut crucial exports — in one case, an Arab-Israeli war followed by an Arab embargo, in the other the Iranian revolution.

The importing countries can protect themselves by seeing to it that supplies are not overstretched. They need to keep their demand well below the world's capacity to produce, and they have done a pretty good job of it since 1980. It is crucial to keep some slack in the system, and the major responsibility falls to the United States, because it alone burns nearly 30 percent of all oil produced worldwide.

Americans have shown that they can make conservation work. The country is using no more oil today than before the first oil crisis 17 years ago, although the size of the economy and the number of cars on the road have increased by half again. Now it is going to be necessary to do a little better — not only to hold oil consumption steady, but to start to reduce it. That is not only insurance against future oil disruptions. It is an appealing way to save billions of dollars on the trade deficit to boot.

—THE WASHINGTON POST

## Other Comment

### Enough Is as Good as a Feast

To inhabitants of countries newly liberated from decades of Communist rule, the story of Americans being stumped by having too many choices in the marketplace must sound like a fairy tale. Even to consumers in countries where goods are plentiful, it sounds a little unbelievable.

But that seems to be the experience of urban dwellers in the United States. A New York Times report last week said Americans have become overwhelmed, even paralyzed, by the vast array of goods and services at their fingertips. They have more than 25,000 items on their supermarket shelves. They can tune in to 53 television

stations and have more than 11,000 magazines and periodicals to choose from.

This shows the paradox inherent when the line between sufficiency and excess is crossed. In America, the benefit of diversity is nullified: The buyer simply becomes confused. The U.S. experience has wider implications. If one can be flooded by a choice of too many brands of coffee or cereal, how much more muddled the mind becomes in situations where a decision is vital and the choices wide. Instead of envying the choiceworthy Americans, people having fewer choices, whether in the market place of goods or ideas, may want to remember the golden rule that enough is as good as a feast.

—THE SUNDAY TIMES (Singapore)

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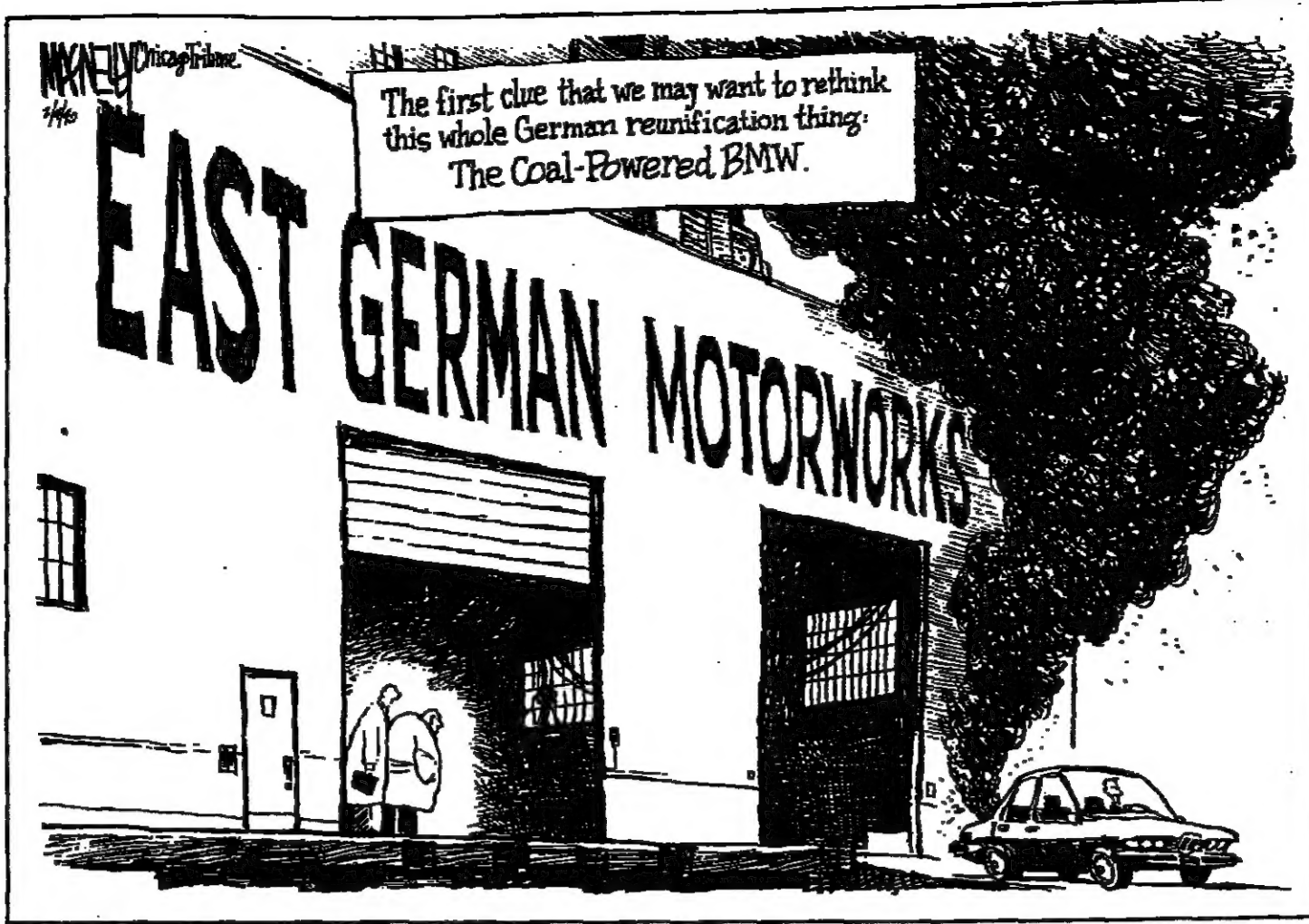
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## OPINION



## Peace Before Power: The People Are Europe's Hope

By Flora Lewis

OTTAWA — The principle is settled. West Germany will absorb East Germany, probably this year. Bonn's December elections will be for a Reichkanzler, not just leader of the Federal Republic but of all Germany.

Whether East Germans participate remains to be decided. But they will have a big influence. The electorate will know it is choosing the government for a united country.

There is an enormous complex of questions about how two separate state systems, two separate economies, two separate societies are to be merged. Nobody was even asking these questions before. But they have become urgent.

For example, what happens to the East German Army, a highly trained force of 173,000 with 324,000 reserves, closely meshed with the Soviet command? Bonn officials say officers keep turning up to ask for equivalent jobs in the West German forces. Some East German diplomats, too, want jobs. But the big administrative structures will not just melt away.

The Soviets are not trying to hide their unhappiness at the pace. Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze told Canadian legislators that it was important to go slowly, "to act cautiously and prudently." But he seemed to realize it was too late for Moscow to put on the brakes, so he sought to speed up the demilitarization of Europe and creation of a new "pan-European security system."

There, too, the questions were not asked in time, so there will have to be improvisation in the desperate attempt to make the two calendars — German and European — coincide.

The Soviets want to start right away drafting plans for new East-West institutions, encompassing the new Germany, to be established by Helsinki summit talks late this year.

The Italians and some other Europeans are thinking on the same lines. They are not pleased at the "two plus four" formula leaving it to the wartime Big Four to oversee the implications of the German settlement for others.

The Poles, worried about their vital Western border, want their voice to be heard. They have a strong point. Bonn always said it could not commit to a united Germany without a peace treaty. But after all, there is not going to be a German peace treaty 45 years later. So the commitment must be made now in some other form.

East Europeans have been quicker than the Russians to see that a neutral Germany not attached to the West is more dangerous than benefit to Europe.

"The partition of Germany — and of Europe — began with the Deutsche mark," said the Polish foreign minister, Krzysztof Skubiszewski, referring to the 1948 currency reform in the three Western occupation zones, "and it will end with the Deutsche mark" talking over East Germany.

The West German Army is totally under NATO, and they see the advantage of keeping it that way until a new European system is in place. If that means Soviet troops staying on awake in a special East German zone, so be it.

The witty Czechoslovak foreign minister, Jiří Dienstbier, put it succinctly: "Where we live, in a symbiosis of the Good Soldier Schweik, Franz Kafka and Josef Stalin, nothing is absurd."

The problems facing the Europeans are really those left by the World War I settlement. America is just thinking of the aftermath of World War II. It does not have the instinctive, institutional memory of Europeans.

Appeals to remember the horrors of Hitler and the Nazis miss this sense of older European instability, which has to be addressed in making sure that history is not repeated.

Gradually, diffusely, the old line separating Europe and Russia is reappearing. Moscow, having abandoned Stalin's way of erasing it, is trying to overcome it by integrating the Soviets with the rest of Europe. It will not work in the time available.

Italy, looking ahead more clearly than others, now thinks in terms of "three concentric circles" — the vast sweep from Helsinki to Vladivostok to San Francisco, which includes the Soviets and the United States; Europe itself, and the European Community, solidly anchoring Germany.

The Russians cannot really be "in Europe" and stand outside as the other superpower. They cannot decide, although accepting a higher ceiling for American troops shows how they are tugged. Perhaps national upheavals tearing at the Soviet Union will force the answer.

A brand-new order is being created. This is a crucial year. The best omen is that people want peace more than power, and people are making their voices heard.

The New York Times

## Ethnically Divided, We Must Not Let This House Fall

By George Vassiliou

The writer is president of Cyprus.

NICOSIA — The first millennium ended amid dark predictions that the world was about to end. The second is nearing its close in an unprecedented climate of hope for a new, more peaceful world.

Nothing has contributed more to this euphoria than the events that have swept through Europe in recent months, bringing down divisive barriers, strengthening democracy and making cooperation, not confrontation, the watchword for the decades ahead.

Although these changes have continental Europe as their epicenter, they are profoundly important for all humanity. The immemorial principles from which they spring — above all, respect for individual human rights — are of universal relevance.

Safeguarding human rights must be our central concern if we are to tackle the dark side of recent developments — a resurgence of nationalism and ethnic strife, in Europe and elsewhere. In other eras, nationalism has played a constructive role in consolidating and safeguarding the rights of peoples and nations. Today, however, it has taken on the destructive cast of chauvinism.

As the Malta summit meeting

confirmed, the Cold War is over. But a conscious effort is required if it is not to be succeeded by a hot war that could set Europe back by centuries. It is imperative that we understand that chauvinism is not patriotism; and that nothing good can come when one ethnic group seeks prosperity and progress at the expense of another (and of the broader international order) under the banner of self-determination.

It was encouraging to hear this view stated clearly by political figures of both Western and Eastern Europe at the meeting this month of top international politicians and businessmen in Davos, Switzerland.

All agreed that chauvinistic nationalism poses a grave danger to progress toward a more peaceful and just world. As Prime Minister Andrei Lukin of Bulgaria warned, giving nationalism free rein could destroy our chances of building a new Europe. Respect for human rights, and not nationalism, must be paramount in European reconstruction.

As Foreign Minister Gianni De Michelis of Italy put it succinctly:

Self-determination was ruled out as an absolute principle at Helsinki in 1975; borders are to be respected; security considerations must override local demands for autonomy. Cyprus supports the view that a Helsinki-2 conference, as proposed by Mikhail Gorbachev, be held as soon as possible to determine first principles for future action.

These issues are of key importance to Cyprus, Europe's southern outpost in the Mediterranean, whose people know how high the price of chauvinism is. Cyprus may be considered a test case for future developments in Europe and the world.

The Cyprus problem is essentially one of the occupation of sovereign territory of one state by the armed forces of another — in this case Turkey, which invaded and occupied more than one-third of the republic in 1974. Turkish forces continue to hold that territory, forcibly separating the Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities.

Under high-level agreements signed in 1977 and 1979 by the two sides, it was decided in principle

that Cyprus should be reunited under a federal system of government. But these accords remain a dead letter. While paying lip service to United Nations efforts to negotiate a federal settlement for Cyprus, the Turkish side has sought to legitimize the status quo.

The UN secretary-general has now called a meeting between the sides in New York to complete a draft framework plan for a federal Cyprus settlement. We will attend in good faith and with good will, and hope that the Turkish Cypriot leader, Rauf Denktaş, will do the same.

The future of the Cypriots will be at stake. But the outcome will also say much about the question of whether states with more than one ethnic group can survive as unified entities within secure borders, or whether they are bound to fragment, with each community claiming the right to secede as the only way to safeguard its interests.

The latter approach, if generalized, would spell the end of Europe and of the world as we know it. The international community cannot afford the precedent that a permanent partition of Cyprus would set.

International Herald Tribune

## Someone Should Tell Them: The Cold War Is Over

By William Pfaff

PARIS — I was surprised to learn recently that the U.S. military had orders during the past decade to defend the Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini's Iran against Soviet attack.

I had assumed that Iran, since its revolution, when the U.S. Embassy staff was taken hostage, was a declared enemy of the United States. It had not occurred to me that in U.S. government eyes it should still be guarded by U.S. armed forces.

We now know this, thanks to the publication of the Bush administration's new guidance to U.S. military commanders, in which the defense of Iran is deleted from the Pentagon's priority assignments.

How was it supposed to have worked? Surely it would have been necessary for U.S. forces to fight their way into Iran to get at Soviet invaders. That would have been a stab in the back of whatever resistance the Iranians were mounting. Would not U.S. forces then have in effect been supporting the Soviet invasion?

I am genuinely baffled by this discovery. What was it all about?

One easily sees where it came from. A U.S. commitment to defend Iran dates to World War II, when the Allies occupied the country to control its oil, and to 1946, when the United States and Britain had to force Stalin to pull Soviet troops out of northern Iran.

One reason this defense commitment survived the fall of the Shah in 1979 is probably the fright the Carter administration gave itself when the Soviet Union invaded Afghanistan. Washington convinced itself that the

invasion by Moscow to the Gulf and the Arabian Sea, to cut the West off from Arab oil. It was not a very convincing scenario.

Yet such ideas shaped strategy in Washington. They were responsible for the creation of a U.S. rapid deployment force and for the purchase of much specialized equipment for desert fighting, and new airlift and sealift capacity to get U.S. forces to the region when the Russians attacked — if they ever did.

The new guidance document, adjusting to reality with respect to Iran, distances itself from reality on other points. It shows a U.S. government still preoccupied with how the United States would "prevail" in a "prolonged nuclear war" with the Soviet Union. It talks about an "aggressive, long-term Soviet objective to obtain more overseas bases and to recruit 'subversive regimes' in the Third World."

The document refuses to acknowledge that NATO might realistically plan on having more than 14 days intelligence notice of a Soviet and Warsaw Pact mobilization to attack Western Europe. What do Mr. Bush's planners think the Warsaw Pact will find to mobilize in today's Eastern Europe for this attack? To say, as this document does, that it would be "imprudent" to alter the 14-day warning assumption, makes the United States look ridiculous, or even sinister.

This guidance, it must be emphasized, is a civilian document. It relies on military appreciations and assessments, but it is not supposed to be a

statement of how professional soldiers look at the world. If it were, its excesses of prudence and its political backwardness would be forgivable. This is the document by which the elected civilian authorities of the Bush administration tell the military what they are supposed to plan for.

The problem is simply that the U.S. government still cannot dismiss intellectually. Take away the zero-sum bipolar Cold War confrontation, remove from the calculation a rigid and disciplined Communist Eastern Europe and substitute popular governments, reform and revolution; reveal the Soviet Union in economic catastrophe and political turmoil, wracked by forces of integration; and the minds of these people in Washington go blank. They say it would be "imprudent" to change anything.

It would certainly be imprudent to conclude from recent events in the East that turmoil and threat are ended, the risk of conflict removed, peace everywhere installed. The contrary is true. The Soviet Union and Europe have entered a period of fundamental instabilities and profound change. We have no idea what kind of Soviet Union will finally emerge. Military forces have a crucial role to play, if only by providing a silent restraint on the course of events. But the actual dangers have nothing to do with the ones addressed by this document.

A top-level U.S. government assessment and directive as removed from contemporary reality as this must itself be a source of danger. By confirm-

ing outdated assumptions it sets up barriers to intelligent new response. The American government mind itself displays obsolescence. The collective eye no longer sees, the collective brain no longer properly works. But contemporary events offer no holiday for cure or convalescence.

International Herald Tribune

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## 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1890: Sarah's Surprise

PARIS — Mme. Sarah Bernhardt has another and the greatest of all her surprises in store for the world. Her this year of grace 1890 comes to a close, the great tragedienne proposes to impersonate the Virgin Mary in a play which has been written specially for her.

### 1915: French Resolve

PARIS — M. Viviani, the French Premier, replying to a question in the Chamber yesterday (Feb. 18), said that France and her Allies were determined to carry on the war to the end until Europe was freed from military despotism and until outraged Belgium was avenged and Alsace again incorporated with France. Alsace, continued M. Viviani, had herself prepared for her return to France by her heroic fidelity. In this case it was certainly not a question of conquest, but of regaining a lost child.

## The Product Of China's Gulag Labor

By A. M. Rosenthal

NEW YORK — Here is some important legal and business information for Americans importing goods from China or investing in Chinese factories or mines:

The chances are high that you are breaking the law of the United States. Specifically, Chapter 19, Section 1307 of the U.S. Code, is entitled "Convict-Made Goods; Importation Prohibited" and reads as follows:

"All goods, wares, articles and merchandise mined, produced or manufactured wholly or in part in any foreign country by convict labor or/and forced labor or/and indentured labor under penal sanctions shall not be entitled to entry at any of the ports of the United States, and the importation thereof is hereby prohibited."

The Chinese government is not only the largest user of forced labor in world history, but its Communist economy is heavily dependent on it. Thousands of camps scattered around the country, millions of forced laborers, perhaps more than 20 million at this moment.

Many labor camps are specifically set up and organized to manufacture goods for export. Specialists on Chinese commerce have no doubt that slave-labor products and raw materials reach the U.S. market.

So far the United States has chosen to ignore the import ban. But here is another business note for Americans in the China trade: The Congress of the United States is likely to try to change that this year.

The full congressional spotlight will focus on the Chinese gulag for the first time — a government report due about May 1, hearings, investigations, legislative action.

Senator Jesse Helms of North Carolina is organizing the congressional battle to expose the convict labor system that underlies so much of the Chinese Communist economy.

He will be joined by other Republicans and Democrats, conservative and liberal, in what will be another bipartisan effort to fight the Bush administration's policy of appeasing Beijing.

In the Senate and then in the House of Representatives, legislation will be introduced to enforce the law and impose real penalties — fines, seizure of goods and treble damages. The plan also is to give organizations like labor unions and business associations the legal right to sue against forced-labor imports.

Currently that right is limited to companies damaged by the import of forced-labor merchandise. There will be a legislative effort to write regulations against American investment in enterprises using forced labor.

Forced labor has been essential to the Chinese Communist economy for 40 years, although the world carefully looked away. The regime has said so openly in the law of the land: "Production from reform-through-labor shall become a part of the overall plan for the reconstruction of the nation's production capabilities."

The same law states: "Plans for the distribution and coordination of the labor of criminals will be based on the number of criminals in each area and on the needs of production and the reconstruction of the nation."

The Chinese millions being "reformed" by being forced to work unpaid for the profit of the Communist system include those deemed ordinary criminals. In China, conviction is a formality after arraignment. Not guilty pleas are an insult to the state.

Political prisoners are also used in forced labor. That can be anybody the government wants to put away. Other millions are ordered into "job placement camps" when spots need develop — large-scale imprisonment gangs.

The factories are not merely ancillary to the camps. The country. Around China, prisons are established in or near factories specifically designed economically and physically to depend on forced labor.

The slave-labor factories and mines produce textiles, chemicals, iron coal, tools, machinery, consumer goods and other Chinese exports.

The Bush administration is expected to try to block legislative action, veto it or cripple it by demanding veto for the president to waive enforcement. And some American businesses that trade in the sweat of slave labor will lobby against the ban, arguing that the Chinese people will be hurt.

That argument could be countered easily: banning imports of slave labor plants and dollar exports to them would open jobs outside of prisons. Every argument the point seems like pandering to hard-core hypocrisy. The ban is U.S. law. It remains only to enforce it — sorrowfully past time.

The New York Times

## EUROBONDS

### Too Many U Cloud the F

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## EUROBONDS

### Too Many Uncertainties Cloud the Forex Picture

By Carl Gewirtz  
*International Herald Tribune*

PARIS — Wary of distortions from a deck with too many wild cards, analysts are unusually chary about trying to predict where foreign-exchange rates are headed over the coming week. One of the wild cards is the outcome of the Japanese election; another is the West German Bundesbank.

Analysts in London, Paris, Frankfurt and New York were repeating identical rumors on Friday — that the short-lived rally that carried the dollar to a four-week high against the Deutsche mark was cut short by the West German central bank's sales of dollars.

The dollar hit its high of 1.7010 DM on news of a much reduced \$7.2 billion trade deficit in December and began to fall back when the United States reported a sharper than expected 1.2 percent decline in January's industrial production. The dollar ended trading at 1.6750 DM.

On the face of it, the weak January data could be read as a justification for the Federal Reserve to lower interest rates — a move that would hurt the dollar now that interest rates in Deutsche marks, on instruments from three months to 10 years, are higher than on dollars for the first time in 15 years.

But analysts insisted that the production data gave an exaggeratedly gloomy picture of the state of the economy, distorted both by the freaks of weather and cutbacks in the auto industry that are expected to be partially reversed this month.

"The data confirms sluggish growth in the United States," said John Lipsky, London-based analyst for Salomon Brothers. "The economy should get stronger from here on," he added.

Jonathan Wilmut, an economist at Credit Suisse First Boston said that "the chance that this number shifts Fed policy is low."

UNTIL THE SUDDEN SETBACK, the dollar appeared to be headed higher, with many chartists predicting that it was set to climb to 1.73 DM, an important level since the Bundesbank's last public intervention of dollar sales was made when the dollar traded at 1.73 DM. That intervention sent the dollar sharply lower.

Analysts see the central bank lowering the levels at which it intervenes to prevent the dollar from bounding beyond any of the important chart points, and then building a head of steam likely to carry it high.

The Bundesbank's strategy is seen aimed at containing the disarray set off by investors' reactions to plans to create a currency union with East Germany. Worries about the cost and possible inflationary repercussions are reflected in the falling prices, and rising yields, in the government bond market.

Conditions were less chaotic than the previous week, but prices continued to ease driving the yield on 10-year bonds to 8.57 from 8.4 percent a week earlier.

"No one believes the market has stabilized yet," said Christopher Potts, of Banque Indosuez in Paris.

In face of this instability in the bond market, analysts believe that the Bundesbank is determined to prevent any substantial weakening of the Deutsche mark against the dollar. As many raw material imports, notably oil, are priced in dollars, a rise in the currency risks adding to inflationary pressures.

Whether the Bundesbank can hold the line on the foreign exchange market is a question that analysts worry about.

The high mark interest rates are not yet a convincing support for the mark, since there is so much doubt about how much higher they might yet be driven. Analysts do believe that once German interest rates are seen to have stabilized the mark will be driven up as money flows into mark bonds.

In the meantime, the outlook is less certain. So far the Bundesbank has succeeded in keeping traders off balance, intervening when least expected to do so and at times, like Friday, when players are most reluctant to stake out positions in front of a three-day weekend. The New York market will be closed Monday for a national holiday.

So far the major beneficiaries of the mark's new status as a risky investment are the French franc and sterling, both of which gained against the mark last week.

The situation in Japan is no clearer. With the election out of the way — the ruling Liberal Democratic Party was poised to take a majority, according to preliminary reports last Sunday — the Bank of Japan is expected to raise interest rates. But views vary widely whether this will be immediately, assuming a victory for the party.

## Bank Steps Into Tunnel Row

**Reuters**

LONDON — The Bank of England has stepped in to rescue the project to build a tunnel under the English Channel, banking sources said on Sunday.

The intervention followed a warning over the weekend by the chairman of Eurotunnel PLC that the whole project could collapse. Eurotunnel, the project's developer, has been battling in court with contractors Trans Manche Link over unpaid bills for the project.

A tentative accord between the two Anglo-French consortiums was struck late on Friday at secret talks called by the bank's governor, Robin Leigh-Pemberton, the banking sources said.

Trans Manche Link and Eurotunnel, who have fought constantly over money for the tunnel, one of the world's biggest construction projects, appeared to have reached a compromise, the sources said. They added that Eurotunnel was expected to make an announcement this week.

"There was a certain amount of banging of heads together to make them see sense, and a tentative agreement was struck," a senior banking source said.

Estimates of the cost of completing the rail tunnel under the English Channel have soared from \$4.8 billion (\$8.1 billion) to \$7.2 billion, plunging Eurotunnel into a cash crisis and unnerving its 500,000 shareholders.

## Bonn Aide Says Unity May Prompt Tax Increase

**Reuters**

BONN — A West German government minister has for the first time indicated that taxes may have to be raised to finance a reunification with East Germany, Bunte magazine reported on Sunday.

"You should never say never," the weekly quoted Norbert Blum, the labor minister, as saying in an interview. "If it became necessary, taxes would have to be increased. You don't get reunification at zero costs."

West German politicians have previously all but ruled out the possibility of an increase in taxes as the two states move rapidly toward reunification. But economists have speculated that taxes might have to go up to finance the monetary union, which will be the subject of preparatory talks by a joint commission starting Tuesday.

The experts will discuss issues such as what exchange rate should be used for the East German mark.

Bonn officials believe that monetary union is the best way to prop up East Germany's economy and provide an incentive that would keep its citizens from emigrating to the West.

**Export Commitments**

The West German government has reportedly promised to guarantee all East Germany's long-term export commitments to the Soviet Union, Agence France-Presse reported from Hamburg.

Chancellor Helmut Kohl and Foreign Minister Hans-Dietrich Genscher made the promise when they were in Moscow last week, according to a report due to appear in Der Spiegel magazine on Monday.

ASEAN and EC Seeking Freer Market Access

**Compiled by One Staff From Dispatches**

KUCHING, Malaysia — The Association of South East Asian Nations and the European Community have requested freer access to each other's markets.

At a joint foreign ministers meeting, ASEAN asked for more freedom to sell products including textiles, tropical vegetable oils, cocoa and timber in the EC, a joint communiqué said Saturday.

The EC, in turn, asked ASEAN to lower its barriers to EC exports such as cars, personal computers, paper, textiles, fertilizers and chemicals.

ASEAN diplomats voiced concern over the EC position on reciprocity and adoption of common standards for imports in a unified market.

## Japanese Under Scrutiny Of U.S. Tax Authorities

By Robert Pear  
*New York Times Service*

WASHINGTON — Bolstered by new auditing powers, federal tax officials are investigating many U.S. subsidiaries of Japanese companies on the suspicion that they have underpaid corporate income taxes by billions of dollars.

As foreign-owned assets in the United States more than tripled in a decade to \$1.8 trillion, the gross income that foreign-owned companies made here more than doubled. But the total taxes they paid hardly changed, data compiled by the IRS show.

Of the 36,800 foreign-owned companies filing returns in 1986, more than half reported no taxable income. Tax officials assert that some subsidiaries understate income, thus minimizing tax liability, by manipulating transactions with parent companies.

But the IRS has been frustrated in efforts to audit these companies' returns because important financial records are often kept at headquarters abroad, in foreign languages, with much less detail than would be required in the United States.

To aid IRS investigations, Congress has provided an important tool. Under a little-noticed provision of a law signed by President George Bush on Dec. 19, Congress gave the IRS broad authority to access data on foreign-owned companies that fail to comply promptly with demands for any records or testimony.

Those that do not cooperate can be fined up to \$10,000 a month, with no limit on the cumulative penalty.

The law has important implications for U.S. distributors of cars and electronic goods made in Japan. The law applies to all foreign-owned businesses, but Japanese-owned companies have attracted IRS attention because they are active in manufacturing industries where federal investigators have found a potential for abuse.

"We don't target a particular country for enforcement," said Charles S. Triplett, deputy associate chief counsel of the tax agency. "Nonetheless, it's pretty clear that the Japanese do a lot of business here and have many U.S. subsidiaries acting as distributors of manufactured goods."

One IRS official said suspected underpayments amounted to at least \$12 billion.

Critics of the IRS say the agency sometimes cites extreme cases or amounts to support its contention that the government has been cheated. But tax experts, accountants and economists outside the government say tens of billions of dollars are at issue in cases involving U.S. affiliates of foreign companies.

IRS data show that in 1986, U.S. subsidiaries of foreign companies took tax deductions of \$544 billion against total receipts of \$543 billion.

A recent study by the Congressional Joint Committee on Taxation expressed concern about the issue.

"There is some indication that the level of tax payments of foreign-owned businesses in the United States is unusually low," the report said.

Multinational companies, including those based in the United States, face difficult tax questions all the time because they do business in countries with widely varying tax systems. Allocating income and deductions among national units of a multinational company is thus a complex area of tax law.

The Japan Tax Association, a group of tax experts from major Japanese companies, said the IRS was partly to blame because it had not established "concrete guidelines" for determining the appropriate price in transactions between units of a multinational company.

Federal tax officials say American distributors of foreign-made goods can reduce their profits, and thus their tax liability, by paying high prices to the parent corporations for goods, services and technology. Under federal law, a parent company is supposed to charge its subsidiary the same price as a buyer would pay an unrelated seller in the open market — the "arm's length" price.

The IRS, responding to a big increase in foreign investment in the United States, says that the examination of transactions between foreign parents and their U.S. affiliates will become an increasingly important part of its enforcement work.

Alexander Zakpowsky Jr., a lawyer for the U.S. subsidiary of Yamaha Motor Co., said: "There is a clear pattern of the IRS looking at the importation of Japanese products into the United States."

Yamaha makes motorcycles. Its U.S. subsidiary imports and distributes them.

In a case pending in the U.S. Tax Court, the IRS asserts that Yamaha's U.S. affiliate understated its income and overstated the amount it paid to the parent company for motorcycles and related products.

It contends that the subsidiary underpaid income taxes by a total of \$133 million from 1977 through 1984 and is trying to collect that amount, plus \$13 million in penalties.

The taxation of foreign companies doing business in the United States has suddenly attracted the attention of politicians concerned about foreign investment and trade.

Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, the leader of the Democratic majority in the House, and Senator Jesse Helms, a North Carolina Republican, have introduced legislation to limit the IRS's power to audit foreign companies.

### CURRENCY RATES

**Cross Rates**

	Feb. 16	Feb. 17	Feb. 18	Feb. 19
American dollar	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750
British pound	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750
French franc	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750
German mark	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750
Italian lira	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750
Japanese yen	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750
Swiss franc	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750
U.S. dollar	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750

**Other Dollar Values**

	Feb. 16	Feb. 17	Feb. 18	Feb. 19
Australian dollar	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750
Canadian dollar	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750
Hong Kong dollar	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750
Indian rupee	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750
Israeli sheqel	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750
Japanese yen	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750
South African rand	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750
Swedish krona	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750
Swiss franc	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750
U.S. dollar	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750	1.6750

## U.S., Pursuing Drug Money, Cracks Down on Flight Capital

By Jeff Gerth  
*New York Times Service*

WASHINGTON — The federal government's intensified war on drug trafficking has for the first time clashed with the most profitable segment of the banking business.

Though big banks shun drug money, their private international banking departments have long accepted and sometimes actively sought the deposits of foreigners looking to move hundreds of billions of dollars away from weak economies, or seeking to evade tax or currency laws or to hide their money for a variety of reasons.

That pool of anonymous money, known in banking parlance as flight capital, has often included the enormous profits of illicit drug transactions, and federal prosecutors are now finding themselves entering the world of flight capital.

In a landmark case this month, two units of a Luxembourg-based bank, the Bank of Credit & Commerce International, were ordered to forfeit a record \$15 million after a federal judge in Tampa, Florida, accepted their guilty plea.

In the indictment, prosecutors charged that the \$20 billion bank had a strategy to increase deposits by seeking, specifically, flight capital "and the proceeds of drug sales, in conscious violation of the currency regulations, tax laws and anti-drug laws of the United States and of other nations."

Though the bank's units pleaded guilty, five of their officials are now on trial.

The Bank of Credit & Commerce International, which has offices in 71 countries, including the United States, specializes in private international banking. Its deposits included hidden funds of Manuel Antonio Noriega, the deposed leader of Panama who is now in jail.

national banks that do business in the United States must now begin to ask tougher questions about their foreign depositors and the sources of their money — or face possible prosecution.

"Flight capital was never discussed before when we talked about money laundering," he continued. "But the notion in the past that it was untouchable is not the case now."

E. Lawrence Barcella Jr., a Washington lawyer for the Bank of Credit & Commerce, as well as several other banks, said, "The U.S. and the international banking community better realize that there but for the grace of God go they."

Mr. Barcella, in defending the banks during a recent interview, said that often in the case of a foreign depositor, "they had no reason to suspect a customer was a drug dealer."

"They assumed he wanted confidentiality because it was flight capital," he said.

But the government now rejects that argument, Mr. Barcella said, telling the banks, in effect, that "the best explanation you can give is that you were helping break the law of a foreign country."

The Money Laundering Control Act of 1986, which was amended in 1988, makes it a crime to knowingly conceal the "nature, the location, the source, the ownership or the control of the proceeds" of various kinds of illegal activity, including many domestic white-collar crimes, but not violations of foreign currency or tax laws.

More recently, the government has issued the new regulations and guidelines that require the banks to disclose "suspicious transactions" involving flight capital. And now, by definition, it is considered suspicious if a deposit in one foreign branch is used to back a loan to the same depositor at another branch.

"Back-to-back transactions," Mr. Barcella said, "That's how flight capital moves. That's what the Treasury now says is suspicious."

The Justice Department's money-laundering experts decline to comment on the flight-capital developments while the Bank of Credit & Commerce case is pending. But Attorney General Dick Thornburgh, in addressing the bankers association last fall, indicated that it was no longer free from close scrutiny.

"Wouldn't some bankers, even the Treasury itself, perhaps prefer to keep quiet about wealthy flight capital altogether?" he asked.

The American Bankers Association's guidelines call on bank employees to report suspicious trans-

## 40: War Economy

As — "offer your hair to the nation" is the appeal made by the "Leifur Neumeier" in a campaign to encourage men to donate their hair to help the Red Cross. The hair is collected daily from the hair salons and is sent to the Red Cross. The hair is then used to make wigs for women who have lost their hair as a result of cancer treatment. The campaign is a success, with more than 1,000,000 pounds of hair collected so far.

## Last Week's Markets

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to escape the consequences of his economy" is no longer enough, said John J. Byrne, the senior federal legislative counsel for the American Bankers Association in Washington.

"Flight capital was never discussed before when we talked about money laundering," he continued. "But the notion in the past that it was untouchable is not the case now."

E. Lawrence Barcella Jr., a Washington lawyer for the Bank of Credit & Commerce, as well as several other banks, said, "The U.S. and the international banking community better realize that there but for the grace of God go they."

Mr. Byrne and other banking experts agree that banks should scrutinize their customers more carefully. But such inspection can be

to finance a loan back to the same customer from another branch of the same bank.

So the original money, that was illegally earned, is hidden, and if law-enforcement officials ask where the depositor got the funds he now has, he simply says it was a loan from the respected bank.

"The banking industry has a severe problem here," said Charles Morley, a former Senate investigator who is a consultant to the banking industry on money-laundering issues. "Cash-to-cash loans are common in the international banking community. The government is making them suspicious, and my concern is that the banking industry doesn't recognize this yet."

Mr. Barcella, in defending the banks during a recent interview, said that often in the case of a

branch is used to back a loan to the same depositor at another branch.

"Back-to-back transactions," Mr. Byrne said, "That's how flight capital moves. That's what the Treasury now says is suspicious."

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- What The Drexel Debacle Means
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## New International Bond Issues

Compiled by Lawrence Desobry

Issuer	Amount (\$ millions)	Mat.	Coups. %	Price	Yield	Terms
<b>Floating Rate Notes</b>						
Dong Ah Construction & Industrial	\$100	1997	0.35	100	—	Over 4-month Libor, Redeemable at par in 1995. Fees 0.84%.
Belgium	DM 500	2000	1/4	100	—	Below 6-month Libor, Callable at par in 1992. Fees 0.15%.
Woolwich Building Society	£ 250	1994	1/16	100	—	Over 3-month Libor, Redeemable at par in 1992. Fees 0.10%.
Caisse Generale de Cooperation Economique	SCU 200	2006	8 1/2	100.15	99.88	Interest will be the 3-month Libor, Callable at par in 1992 and redeemable at par in 2006. Fees 0.10%.
Public Power Corp. of Greece	¥ 16,000	1998	1/4	100	—	Over 4-month Libor, Callable and redeemable at par in 1995. Fees 0.40%.
<b>Fixed-Coupon</b>						
Sarwa Australia	\$ 50	2000	9%	102	—	Callable at par in 1992. Fees 2%. Denominations \$100,000.
World Bank	\$1,500	1997	8%	100	99.87	Semiannually, Redeemable at par in 1997. Denominations \$1 million.
European Coal & Steel Community	£ 60	2009	11%	100 1/2	—	Noncallable, Fees not disclosed. Denominations £10,000.
Nationwide Anglo Building Society	£ 100	1994	13%	101 1/2	99.68	Noncallable, Fees 1.5%.
WestLB Finance Curacao	£ 50	1994	13%	101.60	99.98	Noncallable, Fees 1.5%.
Société Générale	FF 500	1995	zero	100%	—	Noncallable, Redemption amount at maturity may be at a premium, depending on the performance of the CAC-40 stock index. Fees 1.5%.
Export Development Corp. of Canada	SCU 150	1991	11%	101.35	100.40	Noncallable, Fees 1.5%.
National Bank of Hungary	Sch 1,000	1997	9%	99.45	—	Noncallable, Fees 2.10%.
Banque Nationale de Paris	¥ 25,000	1995	7	101.85	—	Noncallable, Fees 1.5%.
C. Roh & Co. Int'l	¥ 10,000	1994	7 1/4	101 1/2	—	Noncallable, Fees 1.5%.
Leads Permanent Building Society	¥ 10,000	1993	7 1/4	101 1/2	—	Noncallable, Fees 1.5%.
Société Nationale des Chemins de Fer Français	¥ 30,000	2000	6 1/4	102	—	Noncallable, Fees 2%.
Vestergaard Kraftvarmeselskab	¥ 10,000	1993	7.20	101 1/2	—	Noncallable, Fees 1.5%.
<b>Equity-Linked</b>						
Nagase & Co.	\$ 200	1994	2 1/4	100	103.50	Noncallable, Each \$25,000 note with one warrant exercisable into company's shares of 1,610 yen per share and of 145.50 yen per dollar. Fees 2.5%.
Somick Musical Instruments Manufacturing	\$ 30	2004	1	100	100.00	Redeemable at 125.11 in 1995. Convertible after Sept. 1991 at 53.57 yen per share, or 75% premium, and of 69.40 yen per dollar. Fees 2%.
Star Micros	DM 100	1994	1 1/4	100	99.75	Noncallable, Each \$25,000 note with 5 warrants exercisable into company's shares of 2,563 yen per share and of 86.71 yen per dollar. Fees 2.5%.

## U.S. Interest Rates Hinge on Japan And Yields in Foreign Markets

Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches

NEW YORK — After a turbulent week marked by a sharp decline in Japanese stock prices and a rise in Japanese government bond yields, investors were closely watching events in Japan and Germany for a clue on the direction of interest rates.

Richard Berner, a Salomon Brothers economist, said the market was keyed to Japan's election on Sunday. If the yen falls to rally on a widely expected victory by the ruling Liberal Democratic Party, the Bank of Japan could be obliged to raise its discount rate.

Mr. Berner said that rising German yields were a factor, too. "Higher overseas interest rates are going to continue to provide a floor for U.S. interest rates," he said.

"People say our markets have to go higher to attract capital," said Elizabeth Reiners, a vice president and money-market analyst for Dean Witter Reynolds Inc. A selloff in German bonds has led to doubts about monetary union with East Germany has driven up their yields.

"Comments on Credit," a Salomon Brothers newsletter, said "the market here remains vulnerable to rising expectations of inflation

overseas and a potential battle for

world savings."

Investors will be watching carefully next week when the Federal Reserve Board chairman, Alan

Greenspan, testifies before Congress

on the economy. The least suggestion from him that the Fed is thinking of tightening credit

to ward off inflation could spark a selloff, Ms. Reiners said.

Bond prices tend to go up when interest rates fall because the lower

market rates improve the relative return on fixed-rate bonds.

One reason that the bond market ignored last week's U.S. trade and

industrial figures, which would normally have been extremely bullish

for fixed-income securities, was that investors were more preoccupied

with the sharp decline in the dollar against the mark, which could

discourage foreign investment in dollar-denominated securities.

The credit market is also concerned about the recent surge in

overseas interest rates, which could also lure some foreign investment

away from American securities.

In addition, there was the usual

caution that precedes an increase in

the supply of Treasury paper.

On Tuesday, the Treasury plans to auction \$10 billion of two-year notes, which traded on a when-

issued basis to yield 8.35 percent, up a basis point on the day.

The next day, \$8 billion of five-

year notes are scheduled for sale and their yield also rose a basis

point, or a hundredth of a percentage point, to 8.34 percent.

On Friday, yields on the outstanding 8 1/2 percent two-year and

8 1/4 percent five-year notes were unchanged at 8.31 percent each. Also

unchanged were the long notes, the 8 1/2 percent issue due in the year

2000, which were offered at the close at 100 19/32, or yield 8.41

percent.

But the new benchmark Treasury long bonds, the 8 1/2 percent

issue due in 2020, were offered at 100 14/32, or 2 1/32 on the day,

causing the yield to rise a basis point, to 8.46 percent. A week earlier,

the yield on long bonds was 8.33 percent.

The main activity in the credit

markets was a move by the Federal Reserve to drain reserves from the

banking system through four-day

matched sales.

(UPI, NY)

## U.S. Takes Control Of Franklin Savings

By Thomas C. Hayes

New York Times Service

DALLAS — Franklin Savings Association, an unorthodox savings institution with \$11.4 billion in assets and close ties to Wall Street, has become the largest savings unit in U.S. government hands.

Federal regulators took control of Franklin, based in Ottowa, Kansas, on Friday. The Office of Thrift Supervision said Franklin's net worth would fall to a negative \$44.3 million after examiners forced the institution to make several accounting changes. One involved recording \$119 million in losses from futures trading that the savings unit had planned to write off over seven years.

Franklin, which reported \$359.9 million in capital at the end of 1989, is also likely to lose another \$185 million on zero-coupon bonds it issued in 1984, the government said. The institution, which lost money from operations in four of the last five quarters, was unable to raise fresh capital and had little prospect for recovery, said Marc Adams, a spokesman for the supervisory agency in Washington.

In its years of rapid growth, Franklin relied heavily on techniques designed to reduce the risk of loss from interest-rate fluctuations. It changed course after suffering losses in 1981 and 1982, when high interest rates hurt many savings institutions that made loans primarily to home buyers. Few of Franklin's current assets include home mortgages.

The analysis that led Franklin to adopt the interest-rate hedging techniques was developed by the institution with Wayne Angell, now a Federal Reserve governor in Washington.

Ernest M. Fleischer, an unassuming, analytical executive who built Franklin into the 25th largest U.S. savings institution, was removed from the chairman's post at Franklin as part of the government action. Many on Wall Street had considered Mr. Fleischer a visionary in designing financial instruments to reduce risks from interest-rate swings.

## Trump on the Rocks: Junk-Bond Relationship Unravels

By Diana B. Henriques

New York Times Service

NEW YORK — Donald J. Trump's relationship with the junk-bond market, a major factor in his financial success, is on the rocks.

The prices of several of Mr. Trump's mortgage bond issues have fallen so far in the past several months that Salomon Brothers Inc. the Wall Street bond issuer, recently advised its institutional clients to cut their losses and sell the bonds issued to finance Trump's Castle casino in Atlantic City.

Those unrated bonds were trading at 92 cents on the dollar at the end of January, when Salomon said "sell." The issues promptly tumbled to 82 percent of par, a price that would offer a yield to maturity of roughly 20 percent.

But the bonds are not a bargain yet, Salomon Brothers says.

In the next couple of months, the downside risk of these bonds is greater than the upside, said one Salomon executive. "There won't be any news in the next few months to provide any reason for these bonds to go up."

While the tabloid press debates the roots of Mr. Trump's marital discord, there is little doubt about why bondholders have grown so chilly toward his mortgage issues.

The coupon-clipping crowd is worried about three things: debt levels, real estate values and the casino industry.

The Trump bonds, of course, are debt issues sold to finance heavily leveraged real estate ventures in the casino industry.

The largest group of securities examined by Salomon Brothers are \$226.8 million worth of bonds known as the "Trump's Castle Funding 13.75 of 1997." Translated, that simply identifies them as mortgage bonds issued to finance the Trump Castle casino, paying a stated interest rate of 13.75 percent and maturing in 1997.

A tandem \$125 million issue, the "Trump's Castle Funding 7 1/2 of 1999," are bonds with a stated interest rate of 7 1/2 percent.

Euromarkets At a Glance

U.S. 4 1/2 yrs over 9.25 9.25

U.S. 5 yrs over 9.50 9.50

U.S. 6 yrs over 9.75 9.75

U.S. 7 yrs over 10.00 10.00

U.S. 8 yrs over 10.25 10.25

U.S. 9 yrs over 10.50 10.50

U.S. 10 yrs over 10.75 10.75

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OTC Consolidated trading for week

ended Friday, February 16.

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(Continued on next page)



## U.S. May Back Entry Of Taiwan Into GATT

By Jim Mann  
Los Angeles Times Service  
WASHINGTON — The Bush administration has indicated that it is seriously considering a request by Taiwan to join the world's leading trading organization, despite outraged protests by China.

Many believe that U.S. support for such a move would contradict nearly two decades of understanding between Washington and Beijing.

In an official statement issued late Friday, the State Department said it was "studying carefully" a recent application by Taiwan for membership in the Geneva-based General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade, the 97-nation compact that administers global trading rules.

"Given Taiwan's importance in the global trading system, we look forward to the eventual inclusion of Taiwan, on appropriate terms of

membership, in the GATT," the State Department said. Administration officials point out that Taiwan has now become the fifth-largest trading partner of the United States.

Supporting Taiwan's effort to join GATT would go further than any other move by the United States in the past decade toward giving official recognition and status to Taiwan, which China considers to be a renegade province.

In early January, Taiwan filed a new application to join GATT — not as an independent country, but as a "customs union." GATT has granted membership to other customs unions, including Hong Kong, even though it is still a British colony. U.S. sources said that there was a chance the administration would decide to endorse Taiwan's request because of its growing economic power.

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## Dollar Gains Popularity As Currency in Argentina

By Jim Mann  
Los Angeles Times Service  
BUENOS AIRES — The dollar is quickly becoming Argentina's main trading currency, since hyperinflation has rendered the austral useless for everything but everyday shopping.

"All industry and business has ceased to quote prices in australes and is giving them in dollars," said Gustavo Ochoa, an economist. "The economy has converted to the dollar."

"No one wants to hold any australes," said Enrique Szewach, chief economist for the Latin American Research Foundation.

The austral fell 29 percent against the U.S. currency last week, from 2,860 at Monday's opening to 4,030 at Friday's close, traders said. Since the start of the year, it has plunged 51.25 percent against the dollar.

Businessmen complain that the dollar remains their only point of reference to fix the value of their products.

"Some manufacturers not only quote their prices in dollars, but also demand payment in the U.S. currency," said Osvaldo Cornejo, head of the Small Business Chamber.

President Carlos Menem's seven-month-old government's latest offensive against inflation has been the drawing up of a social pact that commits business, trade unions and political parties to form commissions to coordinate economic policy.

The government has reported a 50 percent fall in sales and says 32 percent of the population is either unemployed or has part-time work.

## WORLD STOCKS IN REVIEW

By Jim Mann  
Los Angeles Times Service

**Amsterdam**  
Stock prices spent most of last week recovering from a drop of 1.2 percent on Monday. At the end of the week, the CBE all-share index stood at 194.3, up from 193.4 the previous Friday.

The absence of company news kept volume low. Total volume reached 8.5 billion guilders, up from 8.2 billion a week earlier. Equity trading totaled 2.9 billion guilders, against 3.5 billion the previous week.

In the short term, the market will focus on news from talks on German monetary union, so a wait-and-see attitude will prevail, according to Kempen & Co.

**Frankfurt**  
The West German stock market, previously unaffected by the depressed bond market, was underlain last week by poor bond performance but nonetheless ended slightly higher.

Discussion of the financial cost to Bonn of German reunification also weighed on share prices and made investors, particularly foreign buyers, more cautious. But the market ended the week higher on a technical correction and several strong foreign purchases.

The DAX index closed seven points higher for the week, at 1,893.66 points, but the Commerzbank index lost 10.8 points to finish at 2,308.2. Volume on West German's eight stock exchanges was sharply down, at 47.04 billion Deutsche marks, compared with 70.18 billion DM the previous week.

**Hong Kong**  
After a weak start, the Hong Kong market managed some gains toward the end of the week, as overseas bargain hunters entered the fray Thursday.

The Hang Seng Index rose 45.35 points, or 1.6 percent, for the week to close at 2,939.25 on Friday. Average daily volume shrank to 874 million Hong Kong dollars from the previous week's 1.18 billion dollars.

Dealers said a good showing in the week's final two sessions was made partly because many Hong Kong stocks still looked cheap.

**London**  
The release on Friday of higher-than-expected January inflation figures and a lower-than-expected budget surplus failed to dent strong sentiment among equity investors on the London stock market.

The Financial Times 100-share index recovered from an early sharp fall to end 12.3 points higher for the week, at 2,325.9.

The possible inflationary consequences of German monetary union was cause for some nervousness, but Wall Street's very calm reaction to the collapse of the U.S. investment bank Drexel Burnham Lambert allowed a return of confidence.

Nevertheless, the increase to 15.4 percent in home-leasing rates by two major mortgage lenders revived fears of a recession in Britain and hindered the market's upturn.

Eurotunnel went sharply lower as the company's financial crisis came to the surface once more. Eurotunnel announced that Alberto Mortimer, the co-chairman, would take a more powerful position as deputy chairman and chief executive. The move was seen as a provocation of TMI, which has refused to sign an agreement outlined in January on which the next tranche of banking funds depends.

**Milan**  
The bourse recovered some lost ground in the first session on technical considerations, to show a modest net gain for the week, but a depressed mood pervaded the market.

The MIB index, which fell to its low point of the year during the week, finished with a rise of 0.61 percent from the previous week, ending at 984. The Comit index

also tacked on 0.61 percent for the week, to end at 675.84.

Volume averaged 210 billion lire a session, with an average 55 million shares a day changing hands.

Analysis said trading remained affected by uncertainties about taxation of capital gains, leading operators to be very cautious.

**Paris**  
The Paris Bourse had a tough week, partly because of continuing tensions on interest rates and the issue of German reunification, and partly because of problems at Source Perrier SA, which led the company to recall all its bottled water from world markets.

Priorities dropped an average of 1.6 percent during the week.

Analysts said that worries about German reunification were based on the fact that nobody could evaluate the cost of such a development.

Experts say a drop in interest rates, looked for over the past several months, now seems far in the future, a fact that depresses the bourse.

**Singapore**  
Trading steadied throughout the week in Singapore before share prices closed broadly firmer at the end of the week.

The Straits Times industrial index ended the week 3.25 points up from the previous week, at 1,584.77. The broader market indicator, the SSES all-Singapore index, ended 1.35 points higher at 4,401.17.

**Tokyo**  
Share prices rose moderately, boosted by opinion polls published Thursday indicating the governing Liberal Democratic Party would retain its majority in lower house elections on Sunday.

The Nikkei Stock Average of 2,255 stocks ended the week Friday at 37,460.32 yen, for a 172.18 yen weekly rise. The average had fallen 362 yen the previous week.

The Tokyo Stock Price Index of all stocks listed on the market's first section gained 11.88 points to end the week at 2,746.05.

**Zurich**  
The Zurich bourse had a steady week, but volume was light, operators said, and investors were cautious before the release of a number of earnings reports.

The Swiss Performance Index closed at 1,127.5, against 1,127.1 the previous Friday. The Credit Suisse index finished at 616.4 against 615.1, and the Swiss Bank Corp. indicator closed unchanged at 655.6.

Prices were held back by uncertainties about future developments in East European countries.

## Vuitton Pirate Fined in Seoul

Agence France-Press  
SEOUL — A civil court has ordered a luggage manufacturer to pay 10 million won (\$14,000) for stealing the renowned trademark of the French Vuitton line.

Senior Judge Kim Dae Hwan also ordered the luggage maker, Rah Won Suh, to apologize to Vuitton through newspaper ads. It was the first time that a counterfeiter had been ordered to pay compensation for a civil court and make a public apology.

Counterfeiters in South Korea are known to pirate as much as 60 well-known foreign trademarks. According to the government patent office, 788 cases were prosecuted in 1989.

## Seymour Cray's Computer Moves Ahead

By John Markoff  
New York Times Service

COLORADO SPRINGS, Colorado — Nine months after the brilliant and reclusive Seymour Cray split from the company he founded and began anew in the Colorado Springs hills, he has produced a breakthrough in efforts to design the next generation of the world's fastest computers, known as supercomputers.

Executives of the new company, Cray Computer Corp., said that in the past six months they had overcome the last major obstacle to making the computers in volume and more easily repairing them.

Skeptics had contended that the chips at the core of the new machines would be too difficult to produce in volume.

The chips are made of a semiconducting compound called gallium arsenide, which allows circuits to run far faster than does silicon.

"We now believe there are no longer any technological show-stoppers," said Neil Davenport, the president of Cray Computer and a mainstay of the company's original help in developing many of the international markets of Cray Research Inc., Mr. Cray's former company.

But despite the progress toward solutions in manufacturing, experts in the business said that Mr. Cray's project still represented a considerable gamble.

For one thing, Cray's new computer faces significant challenges from a machine being developed by Cray Research, the world's leading supercomputer maker. Cray Research is relying on the more widely accepted chip made of silicon.

Mr. Cray, 64, must be on guard against a former protégé, Steve S. Chen, who broke with

Cray to form his own company and has since been backed by International Business Machines Corp.

Moreover, he must take on competitors such as Thinking Machines Inc., that have turned to new techniques like looking together hundreds or thousands of computers to exceed the limits of machines like Mr. Cray's.

Finally, there is the threat of Japanese electronics giants like Hitachi, Fujitsu and NEC, which badly want to become major players in the supercomputer market.

Given Mr. Cray's track record of building the world's fastest computers throughout a computer design career that has spanned more than three decades, Cray Computer's progress is being closely watched not only by competitors but also by the government and corporate customers that use the machines.

Today the combined value of the company's stock and the spin-off unit has risen to \$85 a share, up from \$53 a share before.

The company was not under any pressure to restructure, and took those steps voluntarily, according to John P. Neasey, an executive vice president at Sun.

"You only get pressure externally if the shareholders are not satisfied," he said.

Such actions by companies like Sun are exactly the sort of response proposed in a new book written by several executives of McKinsey & Co., a consulting firm, and published by John Wiley & Sons. "Valuation" is a "how-to" guide for corporate executives who want to get at the unrealized stockholder value trapped in public companies before hostile acquirers do it for them.

Borrowing a central tenet of the leveraged buyout movement, the authors tell readers that businesses should be evaluated on the basis of the cash they generate rather than a company's earnings, which may be distorted by accounting gimmicks.

But so far, conceded Tom Copeland, a co-author and McKinsey partner, this book has yet to catch on. Of the 300 leading companies surveyed by the firm a year ago, Mr. Copeland said, fewer than 20 were found to be following the lessons in the book.

"There is definitely a relationship between the threat of being taken over and the incentive to change," he said. "If you take the external force away, it reduces the incentive."

## DREXEL: Relief in U.S. Boardrooms, but New Concerns on Wall Street

(Continued from page 1)  
compared with 15 in the same period last year.

As the junk-bond market deteriorated, so did Drexel's fortunes. Unable to fund its increasingly illiquid inventory of bonds with short-term paper, it suffered a financial crisis that culminated in an announcement last Tuesday that it was filing a bankruptcy petition for its holding company and gradually liquidating the remainder of the firm.

That ended its role as the chief backer of corporate takeovers. Other factors have also allowed

corporate executives to breathe easier. Banks have become more cautious about financing highly leveraged deals, and bank regulators have left little doubt that they encourage this new-found conservatism.

At the same time, the U.S. political and legal environment has grown much less hospitable to debt-financed takeovers. Congress has moved to curtail the interest deductibility on certain types of debt, and many state legislatures have passed laws to discourage raiders from siphoning around companies within their borders.

In the past two years alone, for

instance, 23 states have passed laws enabling boards to take the interests of constituencies other than stockholders, like employees, suppliers and local communities, into consideration when making decisions about takeovers.

"Companies are batten down the hatches in every direction," said Roland M. Machold, who oversees the pension funds of New Jersey public employees. "There's a very strong corporate movement to disfranchise shareholders."

With so many of the forces that kept management's foot to the fire in the 1980s now in retreat, academics and policymakers are searching for new catalysts for change.

There will undoubtedly be some corporate acquisitions, and not just friendly overtures. However, in light of the current credit squeeze, Wall Street deal makers doubt that there will be enough of them to make as powerful a force for change as the hostile takeover.

Some academics and consultants argue that corporate executives have already taken to heart many of the lessons of the raiders' 1980s and are prepared to take the same steps to boost the acquirers' bid to improve their stock prices.

For instance, Sun Co., an energy-resources company in Radnor, Pennsylvania, has spent more than \$1 billion to buy back about 25 percent of its stock outstanding. It sold a number of refineries that the market had not valued highly enough, and in 1988 it spun off to its stockholders an exploration and production subsidiary.

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## IRS: Japanese Are Under Scrutiny

(Continued from first finance page)  
Carolina Republican, have expressed concern that foreign-owned companies are paying lower taxes than U.S.-owned companies with similar sales.

"That is wrong, and we've got to do something to turn it around," Mr. Gephardt said.

Mr. Helms asserted that the disparities gave foreign-owned companies an unfair competitive edge.

James E. Wheeler, a professor of accounting at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor, who worked for the IRS while on sabbatical leave in 1986-87, said: "On the average, foreign-owned U.S. corporations pay substantially less tax to the U.S. government than the American firms with which they compete."

"They also report lower profits," he said. "The extremely low rate of return on the assets of U.S. companies owned by foreign corporations is astonishing and unbelievable," Mr. Wheeler said. "In my view, they are just trying to avoid U.S. income tax."

Japanese executives, lawyers and accountants say Japanese companies are often willing to accept low profits for a decade or more while they try to gain a foothold in the U.S. market. But U.S. officials say the subsidiaries of Japanese companies continue reporting low profits long after they have gained a secure position.

As part of its investigation, the

IRS has retained an economist to collect information in Japan on taxes paid by Japanese companies that do business in the United States. The economist, Kozo Yamamura, is a professor at the University of Washington in Seattle and has edited an important study of Japanese investment in this country.

In a typical case, the federal government asserted in the early 1980s that Toyota Motor Corp. in Japan had records needed by the IRS.

Federal auditors issued a summons for huge amounts of confidential business data kept at Toyota's Japanese headquarters.

Toyota fought the summons. The case ended in 1987, when Toyota's American sales unit was reported to have paid an undisclosed amount of additional taxes.

Michael F. Patton, an international tax lawyer who used to work at the IRS and now works at Ernst & Young, the accounting firm, said: "The new law puts a lot of power in the hands of IRS agents. If they conclude that a foreign-owned company has not complied with a request for information, they can make an arbitrary assessment of taxes."

Under the law, if the tax agency requests records and a foreign-owned company fails to produce them, the government can levy taxes solely on the basis of information available to the IRS, without regard to data that might later be supplied by the taxpayer.

## GIVING: Japanese Polish Image

(Continued from first finance page)

ing to Craig Smith, editor and publisher of Corporate Philanthropy Report, a Seattle newsletter.

Until now, corporate donations had to be cleared by headquarters in Tokyo. They were typically a hard sell because corporate philanthropy is not practiced in Japan, where the government takes care of social and charitable needs.

"Volunteerism is a uniquely American concept unfamiliar to most Japanese as well as other for-

eigners," said Taketaro Kotani, president of NYK Lines North America Inc.

Helping companies in Japan learn about American-style corporate philanthropy is Japan's powerful Keiretsu, or the Japan Federation of Economic Organizations. Its Council for Better Corporate Citizenship — until recently the Council for Better Investment in the United States — helps Japanese companies become acquainted with regional U.S. practices and cultures.

## NASDAQ NATIONAL MARKET

OTC Consolidated trading for week ended Friday, February 16.

(Continued)

Sales in 100s	High	Low	Close	Net
Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0
Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0
Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0
Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0
Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0

Sales in 100s	High	Low	Close	Net
Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0
Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0
Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0
Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0
Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0

Sales in 100s	High	Low	Close	Net
Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0
Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0
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Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0

Sales in 100s	High	Low	Close	Net
Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0
Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0
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Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0

Sales in 100s	High	Low	Close	Net
Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0
Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0
Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0
Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0
Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0

Sales in 100s	High	Low	Close	Net
Amgen	1.00	1.00	1.00	0
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## INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED

(Continued From Back Page)

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# MONDAY SPORTS

## Norman Trumps Faldo To Win 6th Australian Masters by 2 Strokes

MELBOURNE — Greg Norman of Australia overcame third-round leader Nick Faldo of Britain to win his sixth title in the 12-year-old Australian Masters tournament by two strokes on Sunday.

Norman finished the four rounds over the Huntingdale course with a 19-under-par 273 after a closing round of 68. Faldo, the leader by two strokes going into the final round, shot 72 to finish in a three-way tie for second with Mike Clay.

### GOLF

son of Australia and John Morse of the United States.

Norman stumbled badly at the par-five sixth hole with a double-bogey 7, but he retrieved the two shots with an eagle 3 at the following hole. The turning point came at the par-five 14th, where Norman rolled in a birdie putt to join Faldo at 18 under.

He took the lead with a birdie 2 at the next hole and stretched it to two shots when Faldo bogeyed the par-four 17th.

Faldo had been playing down the head-to-head contest over the final two days, but Norman admitted that he had regarded Faldo as his only threat.

"I really never thought of anyone else in the tournament except Nick," Norman said. "He just gives you no quarter, but that's great because then you've got to do it yourself."

Norman also announced that he had resigned from the Australian Professional Golf Association Tour because he could not commit himself to play the required seven tournaments in Australia.

"They asked me about it and I said I couldn't, so that's why I decided not to stay as a member," he said. "But I'll still play my three or four or five [invitation] events."

### Scot Wins 6-Man Playoff

The first six-man playoff in European PGA Tour history left Stephen McAlister of Scotland the surprise winner of the Atlantic Open on Sunday in Oporto, Portugal. Reuters reported.

Battling strong winds and rain as well as his opponents, McAlister holed a 15-foot (4.5-meter) putt at the short 17th on his way to a 74 and a four-under 238. That placed him in an even-par tie with fellow

British golfers Ronan Rafferty, Richard Buxall, David Williams and Stephen Hamill, and Denmark's Anders Sorensen.

Rafferty, who topped last year's European earnings list, seemed a favorite to win the playoff. But McAlister was the only man to make a par 4 at the first playoff hole. It was his first tour victory.

Rafferty bunkered his second shot and knocked his recovery into more sand. Buxall three-putted and Williams, Hamill and Sorensen each took three to reach the green.

McAlister was also short with a drive and three wood, but sank a 15-foot putt for his four.

Ron Stetten of the United States, who had taken a two-shot lead Saturday, carded 80 and was tied for seventh place. He failed to gain the playoff when he bogeyed the last hole. It was his eighth bogey of the round.

### Forsman Leads Shearson

Blustery winds also hampered the Shearson Lehman Hutton Open in La Jolla, California, where Dan Forsman took a third-round lead Saturday with a par 72, The Associated Press reported.

With gusts of more than 40 mph (65 kph) and occasional rain, Forsman outlasted the other struggling contenders to establish a two-stroke lead at 203, 13 under par on the South course at Torrey Pines.

"A very tough day," he said after ending the round with a birdie before only a handful of huddled, wind-whipped spectators. "When it gets like this, it's not fun. It's just a survival test."

Tommy Armour III, who had won his first U.S. PGA Tour victory in the Phoenix Open in Arizona three weeks ago, clung to second at 205 after a round of 75.

Mark O'Meara moved into contention with a 67, a best round of the day by two strokes. He did not make a bogey and vaulted over 28 players into a tie for fourth going into the final round.

Bob Eastwood, who led or shared the lead through 36 holes, ballooned to 76 — 11 shots higher than either of his first two rounds — and 206.

He recalled the second hole, where "I hit a good putt. It looked like it was going to be the right by the hole. All of a sudden it was 10 feet away. I stroked the next one and I look up and it's coming right back at me."



Captain Will Carling dived under the attempted tackle by Mark Titley of Wales to score England's first try in the historic 34-6 triumph.

## England's Renaissance, France's Crisis

By Bob Donahue

International Herald Tribune

PARIS — Amazing score: England 34, Wales 6. It looked easy. England could have won by more.

Stardust score: Scotland 21, France 0. What's going on here?

What's going on, first, is an English rugby renaissance built on reforms in England's ancient establishment in the late 1980s. And second, a foreseeable French crisis as the team that dominated Europe in the '80s goes stale.

What may also be going on — but it remains to be confirmed — is a durable Welsh regression to third-rate status and durable Scottish progress upward. Answers may come when Scotland plays Wales in Cardiff on March 3 and, especially, when England plays Scotland in Edinburgh on March 17.

A dominant image on Saturday was Rory Underwood and Jeremy Guscott lurking up the middle of the field with energy to spare for chitchat. "Look out, Rory," the

center seemed to be saying as he pointed rightward. "The Welsh full-back is charging up behind us."

"Not to worry," the wing seemed to reply, "and if you think I'm going to pass you the ball you're daft."

Underwood finished with a theatrical dive across the goal line that was unnecessary but joyous.

Or there was Brian Moore, a mere forward racing along between

two backs and transmitting from one to the other with a cool leg-drummer that few centers could bring off. Richard Hill, England's revelation at scrumhalf, got the try.

Less flashy was expert might in the scrums, and the predatory teamwork of Moore and friends in the loose. "They were lightning to the ball," Hill said. A London wing, Stephen Jones, put it well on Sunday: "Moore and his pack simply thundered onto [the ball] in a machine-gun burst of flying bodies. It was wonderful to watch."

Fullback Simon Hodgkinson kicked 18 points, which gives him 74 in five matches. England had a 16-0 lead at halftime, and the score was 25-0 before the first Welsh points.

It was more than just a good time being had by all Englishmen; it was historic rugby. Never before, in a series dating back to 1881 and now numbering 96 matches, had England scored more than 25 points against Wales. In the 30 years starting in 1961, England has had only six victories over Wales.

The 28-point loss was Wales's biggest ever against a Five Nations opponent. And England has 11 tries this year in just three matches, after averaging 4.4 in four matches in the '80s and '70s. The last time England managed 11 tries in four Five Nations matches was in 1953.

So the 1990s, scarcely begun, are already something different.

The Scottish result also recalled some old dates. The last time Scotland beat France by 21 points was

in 1925. France's combined losing margin in two matches, 40 points against England and Scotland, is its biggest in successive Five Nations matches since 1914.

Some Frenchmen blame the Edinburgh debacle on the expulsion, 10 minutes into the second half, of flanker Alain Carminati, which forced France to play 30-plus minutes with only 14 men. Another one was the wind, which gusts in Scotland's favor in the first half but died down in the second when the French expected to benefit from it.

Sure, but the Scots looked better. So often, one or more did just the right thing. There was flyhalf Craig Chalmers closing in on Pierre Cragg to prevent what should have been a French try. There was the pressure that slowed delivery of the ball to Didier Camberero, then forced him to rush — and botch — an attempted drop goal.

There was Iwan Tukalo's try through two tackles — one by a 6-foot, 6-inch (1.98-meter) lock. There was the omnipresence of the flanker, John Jeffrey and Finlay Calder.

Chalmers, 21, was Scotland's outstanding player despite being the youngest man on the field. The next youngest, flanker Jean-Marc Lhermet, 22, was France's best. Yet the lethal Scottish loose forwards are all in their 30s. The Scots have a balance that France has lost.

Carminati pleaded not guilty. His foot and the left side of Jeffrey's head just accidentally met, he said. "He was hanging on to my leg," Sunday, a Five Nations disciplinary panel suspended Carminati from all rugby until Sept. 17.

A French television commentator insinuated that the English had reapointed Fred Howard with a view to nabbing Frenchmen. Howard expelled a Welsh lock, Kevin Moseley, for stamping on a Frenchman in Cardiff on Jan. 20. It has become rare for a European referee to handle two Five Nations matches in the same year.

More likely, the English wanted to have their best referee at the Edinburgh match, which had been expected to be a Five Nations high point. In 1984, when Scotland and France were going for the title, the performance of a new Welsh referee left bad feeling in the French camp that persists to this day.

French rugby would do better to take English and Scottish lessons, after deservingly giving French lessons for seven years. There was unadmitted symbolism, along with a refreshing touch of humor, in the attire of Antoine Galtier, the French physiotherapist cum water boy. Instead of the customary track suit, he wore a kilt.

In the unofficial world standings, Scotland rises to third place. France drops from third to fifth. Wales, which ranked second in the world in the '70s and spent the '80s in the middle of the table, slips on down to the bottom.

### Rugby's Big Eight

Last 18 tests among the eight

	W	D	L	Points
1. New Zealand	9	1	8	44
2. England	6	1	11	22
3. Scotland	5	1	12	19
4. Australia	5	1	12	24
5. France	4	0	14	26
6. Argentina	2	1	7	6
7. Ireland	1	0	9	0
8. Wales	1	0	9	7

### SATURDAY'S RESULTS

England 34, Wales 6

First half: Try by scrumhalf Simon Hodgkinson. Try by English center Will Carling, converted by Hodgkinson. Try by English left wing Rory Underwood.

Second half: Penalty goal by Hodgkinson. Try by Welsh flanker Phil Davies, converted by fullback Paul Thurnham. Try by English scrumhalf Richard Hill, converted by Hodgkinson. Penalty goal by Hodgkinson.

Scotland 21, France 0

First half: Penalty goal by fullback Gavin Hastings.

Second half: Penalty goal by flyhalf Craig Chalmers. Try by flanker Finlay Calder, converted by Chalmers. Try by left wing Iwan Tukalo, converted by Chalmers. Penalty goal by Chalmers.

Next tests (March 3)

Wales-Scotland, France-Ireland

### SIDELINES

#### Senna-FISA Feud Erupts Again

PARIS (AFP) — The Ayrton Senna affair, which appeared to have ended Friday, was reopened Sunday when the president of the International Automobile Sport Federation (FISA) hinted that the Brazilian driver, with whom he has been feuding for months, might not be allowed to compete in 1990 Formula One races after all.

Jean-Marie Balestre said in a statement that Senna had apparently violated an agreement to make no statement that might conflict with Friday's official FISA communiqué, which listed Senna as a driver for the McLaren-Honda team after a letter of apology had been received by FISA.

Senna said later in São Paulo that "I didn't actually send the letter of apology to Jean-Marie Balestre until after FISA had released the list of drivers." He also suggested that the McLaren team, rather than he, had paid the \$100,000 fine imposed after his disqualification from the 1989 Japanese Grand Prix.

"FISA has published the official list of drivers in the world championship, but as of today, has not decided the license," Balestre said Sunday. "Only the holding of a superlicense allows a driver to participate."

#### WBC's Sulaiman Said Set to Resign

NEW YORK (NYT) — José Sulaiman, the World Boxing Council president, is reportedly ready to resign because of the controversy surrounding the Mike Tyson-Buster Douglas fight.

A World Boxing Council source said Saturday that Sulaiman would submit his resignation at a meeting of the organization Wednesday in Mexico City. But Sulaiman's wife, Martha Saldivar de Sulaiman, told The Associated Press that her husband had "no plans to resign the position he has held for more than a decade."

She said Sulaiman was hospitalized Friday with an inflammation of the pancreas but would be released in a few days.

Sulaiman has said he was embarrassed by the situation following the Douglas-Tyson fight, when both the WBC and World Boxing Association withheld recognition of Douglas's victory pending a review of a long-count protest from Don King, Tyson's promoter and adviser.

#### Douglas: 2 More

LONDON (UPI) — James (Buster) Douglas has said he plans to fight challenger Evander Holyfield and Mike Tyson — and then retire.

Douglas, speaking Saturday on the British Broadcasting Corporation's sports show "Grandstand," ruled out matches with British heavyweights Frank Bruno and Gary Mason.

There are only two fights for James (Buster) Douglas — Evander Holyfield and Mike Tyson — and then I will get out of boxing," Douglas said from his home in Columbus, Ohio.

Speaking on NBC's "Sports Update" program Sunday, Douglas said he will face Holyfield in September, and will make Tyson wait a year for a rematch.

#### NCAA Charges Illini With Violations

CHAMPAIGN, Ill. (AP) — The University of Illinois offered basketball recruits incentives, including cash, a car and athletic equipment, the NCAA has charged in a letter released by school officials.

"It appears reasonable to expect that the NCAA Committee on Infractions will find violations... concerning these matters," the NCAA letter said Friday. The case could come before the committee in April.

Punishment could range from a reprimand to the so-called "death penalty," barring basketball competition for a specified period of time. This penalty can be imposed if it is found that serious violations occurred because Illinois has been guilty of other NCAA infractions in the past five years. It was cited for football recruiting violations in 1984 and in 1988.

#### For the Record

Alexander Moghily, who defected from the Soviet Union to the NBA's Buffalo Sabres last May, will seek professional counseling for his fear of flying, the team announced. He missed five games in January with what the team said was a stomach ailment exacerbated by his fear of flying. (AP)

The National Football League reluctantly agreed Friday to allow college juniors to enter the pro football annual draft, but qualified the change in policy by also ruling that any underclassman who does apply for the draft must accompany his application with an affidavit that irrevocably renounces his remaining college eligibility. (NYT)

Pete Rose has agreed to do daily three-minute daily commentaries and a once-a-week interview with a sports broadcaster on radio station WCKY-AM in Cincinnati, starting March 19 and continuing through the World Series. (AP)

Sepp Piontek of West Germany, who had coached the Danish national soccer team for 11 years, is to sign a contract Monday to coach the Turkish national team. (AP)

## 76ers-Sonics in Overtime: 5 Minutes, 4 Points

The Associated Press

SEATTLE — The Philadelphia 76ers and Seattle SuperSonics put in five minutes of overtime, but there wasn't any additional wear and tear on the baskets.

It was the lowest-scoring extra period in National Basketball Association history: Four free throws accounted for all the scoring as the 76ers beat the Sonics, 100-96, on Friday night.

"There wasn't a lot of open shots for either team," said the 76ers' coach, Jim Lynam.

Rick Mahorn scored the first points of overtime with 1:38 left and Johnny Dawkins ensured victory with seven seconds to play.

The NBA's previous lowest-scoring overtime was six points, three each by Philadelphia and the Washington Bullets on Nov. 15, 1975. And this was only the third time since the advent of the 24-second clock in 1954 that a team had been shut out

in overtime. The Houston Rockets were blanked by the Portland Trail Blazers on Jan. 22, 1983, and the Los Angeles Lakers were beat, 11-0, by the Detroit Pistons last Dec. 1.

The 76ers were zero for six with their shots and the Sonics were zero for eight in overtime. Seven of the Sonics' missed shots were taken by Xavier McDaniel, who led his team with 25 points.

"I had good opportunities, but the balls just rolled out," McDaniel said. "It wasn't anything Philadelphia did, because we got good shots."

The Sonics had a four-point lead with a minute left in regulation, and still had a 96-94 edge and the ball with 22 seconds left. But Mahorn deflected the inbound pass and Derek Smith forced the overtime with a layup with six seconds to go.

"Our strategy was to foul," Dawkins said, "but the pass was deflected and Derek made the big basket."

### DENNIS THE MENACE



"I'M STARVED, MOM! HOW ABOUT PUTTING YOUR MONEY WHERE MY MOUTH IS?"

### JUNBLE

Unscramble these four Junbles, one letter to each square, to form four ordinary words.

TAHBE

GYTIN

BROTED

DERAIM

Now arrange the circled letters to form the surface answer. All four words are related to the same category.

Answer here: A

(Answers tomorrow)

Saturday's Junbles: BILLY ADAPT WEAKEN SUPPER Answer: The perpetrator had a happy look every time he had the to report — SAU NEWS

Reaching More Than a Third of a Million Readers in 164 Countries Around the World. Herald Tribune

### PEANUTS



"ASK WHAT TIME THIS MOVIE IS OVER. ASK YOURSELF. WHY IS THIS LINE SO SLOW? BECAUSE EVERYONE ASKS SOMETHING. CAN WE BUY JUST ONE TICKET IF WE ALL SIT IN THE SAME SEAT?"

### BLONDIE



"JUST TALKED TO THE DOCTOR'S NURSE. I TOLD HER YOU WERE GOING TO COME TO THE OFFICE. BUT SHE SAID 'THE DOCTOR NEVER MAKES HOUSE CALLS.' HOW ABOUT IF I MEET HIM IN MY CAR AT THE CORNER OF THIRD AND ELMA?"

### BEETLE BAILEY



"COOKIES RAVING MAD BECAUSE WE COMPLAINED ABOUT HIS DINNER! HE'S UP ON HIS ROOF! I'M BUSY! JUST GO TRY TO COOL HIM OFF. OKAY, TURN IT ON."

### DOONESBURY



"AFTER THREE YEARS AND \$175,000, THE CALIFORNIA SELF-ESTEEM COMMISSION RELEASES ITS FINAL REPORT. WELL, LADIES AND GENTS OF THE WORLD MEDIA, HERE'S ONE IT'S NEWS DETERMINED CONCLUSIVELY THAT SELF-ESTEEM IS A SOCIAL MALICE THAT BURROWS US TO LIVE RESPONSIBLY. RIGHT, GAINS? ME FEEL GOOD ABOUT FEELING GOOD ABOUT YOURSELF! EXCISE MR. HUNKER. ROLL OUT THE ANCIENT INAPPROPRIATE. EXPLAIN I DRIVE. HOLLER LIKE THIS. SENT!"

### ANDY CAPP



"I'M THE WORST HUSBAND I REALLY AM. NO, YOU'RE NOT. OH, YES I AM. ALL RIGHT, YOU ARE. NICE TO HAVE A LASS WHO TAKES HER HUSBAND'S SIDE IN AN ARGUMENT. THUMP."

### WIZARD OF ID



"THERE ARE PEA PODS AND BEAN SPROUTS IN MY SMILE!! SO? ...SO, IN AN HOUR, I'LL BE HUNGRY AGAIN!"

### REX MORGAN



"DON'T FORGET TO COME STRAIGHT HOME AFTER SCHOOL BOBBY! YOU HAVE AN APPOINTMENT WITH THE DENTIST? ARE YOU GONNA BE HERE ALL DAY? NO! I HAVE TO GO DOWNTOWN — BUT I'LL BE BACK BY TWO THIRTY! I HOPE DR. CRISP CAN GET TICKETS FOR THAT GAME AGAINST STATE NEXT WEEK."

### GARFIELD



"I ONLY KNOW TWO THINGS ABOUT LIFE... I LOVE MY TEDDY BEAR AND MY TEDDY BEAR LOVES ME. SIMPLE TRUTHS ARE THE MOST PROFOUND TRUTHS."

### SCOREBOARD

EASTERN CONFERENCE		WESTERN CONFERENCE	
Team	Points	Team	Points
Atlanta Braves	100	Los Angeles Dodgers	95
Boston Red Sox	98	San Francisco Giants	92
Chicago White Sox	95	St. Louis Cardinals	90
Cleveland Indians	92	San Diego Padres	88
Detroit Tigers	90	Seattle Mariners	85
Florida Marlins	88	Texas Rangers	82
Los Angeles Angels	85	Yankees	80
Minnesota Twins	82		
New York Mets	80		
Pittsburgh Pirates	78		
San Antonio Spurs	75		
Seattle Mariners	72		
St. Louis Cardinals	70		
San Diego Padres	68		
Seattle Mariners	65		
Texas Rangers	62		
Yankees	60		



## MONDAY SPORTS

## For Fay Vincent, It's Been Crisis After Crisis

By Richard Justice  
Washington Post Service

NEW YORK — The commissioner of major league baseball, Fay Vincent, had looked forward to spring training, to Arizona and Florida, to afternoons in the sun and informal visits with players and managers.

As much of Vincent's first year in baseball, spring training has not turned out the way he had hoped.

"Is it crisis after crisis after crisis?" he asked one day last week. "Is there some normalcy? I've really been looking forward to getting to the ballpark and enjoying that part of this job. You do this job because you love baseball. The offseason gets so long because there's no games."

From the Pete Rose scandal to the death of his friend and predecessor, A. Bartlett Giamatti, to the labor dispute that has delayed spring training, Vincent has had a seemingly endless winter, with problems on the field tearing at whatever joy has been achieved on it.

And there has been personal tragedy. Giamatti's death was devastating to Vincent. Three months later, he endured another, more private

one, when his closest friend was found to have a brain tumor that resulted in an agonizing death.

Clearly, all of it has taken a toll, and baseball's eighth commissioner looked older than his 51 years late Friday afternoon when he allowed reporters into his office for a chat about his extraordinary life and the even more extraordinary times in which he found himself.

It is hard to describe an interview with Francis T. Vincent Jr., a serene, articulate man who has needed only six difficult months on the job to turn himself into something of a baseball folk hero, one admired and respected by both owners and union.

"His approach," said Donald Fehr, executive director of the Major League Baseball Players Association, "has been refreshing."

Vincent is tucked into a cozy office high above New York's Park Avenue. One of the first things people notice about his huge desk is a prominently displayed book. Its title: "Leadership Secrets of Amleth the Ham." He said, smiling, "I haven't read it. I keep it there for effect."

That small joke was one of the few he allowed himself last week. It was a long week, starting

Monday when he decided to inject himself into negotiations that were going nowhere.

Commissioners historically have stayed out of labor negotiations, but Vincent jumped in, knowing that he had to come up with an agreement that pleased both players and owners.

"It was very tempting to stay out of it," he said. "It's tempting to take the view that this is a battle between two groups, and I'm not a party to either. I did it because I felt that somebody had to do it. The commissioner is supposedly here to protect the interests of baseball generally — the fans, people who are not at the table."

"Since this thing was not going anywhere, my responsibility was to call everybody in quietly and privately and without any announcement and say: 'Can I be helpful?'"

"I don't have any of the history of being involved in prior negotiations. I wasn't here during collusion. I don't bear any responsibility for what was done in 1985 or '81."

If he had not intervened, he said, "The public would have had the right to be very critical, to ask, 'Why do you sit up there in the ivory tower?'"

major war here. At least I will say to myself, 'Look, I gave it a hell of a whiff.'

It has turned into an odd negotiating table because Fehr admits to admiring Vincent. He had no such problem with Peter Ueberroth, Giamatti's predecessor.

There is even a widespread theory among those involved in the negotiations that, in many respects, Vincent's heart is with the union as much as it is with the owners who pay his \$500,000 salary. Indeed, Vincent balances every discussion of an issue by listing who wants what, and why, on both sides.

Without much prompting from the owners, he pulled off the table a revenue-sharing plan styled after that of the National Basketball Association and was described as the most vocal member of the ownership group in a negotiating session Friday.

"What I've been trying to do is see whether there is an agreement that can be produced short of what I call 'thermonuclear warfare,'" he said, "that is short of each side going out and engaging in confrontation."

And yet, it's very clear that from the owners' point of view, they have every right, once they see what kind of agreement is available, to say: "This isn't adequate, and we really are not happy with the failure to achieve some meaningful progress in our efforts to change the basic economic structure of baseball."



James O'Neil

"Is there some normalcy? I've really been looking forward to getting to the ballpark and enjoying that part of this job. You do this job because you love baseball."

better relationship between the two groups." It makes for some long days. After spending five or six hours fielding complaints and arguments from the union, Vincent has returned to his office only to get others from the owners.

"If you tell me what I'm doing, I probably won't be willing to do it on Monday," he said. "I don't want to think about it. I'm trying to get an agreement negotiated. I'm trying to get something done that's smart, and I have no idea whether I'm going to succeed."

## Talks Resume Today On a Positive Tone

By Murray Chass  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — As negotiations for major league baseball's club owners and players prepared to resume talks Monday on a labor agreement, the players' chief spokesman said he was encouraged to perceive that the owners seriously want a settlement.

The two sides said they planned to meet for three or four consecutive days this week.

Donald Fehr, head of the players' union, emphasized that the sides had made no "momentous breakthroughs" that will get us to an agreement in a foreseeable time. But after a four-hour meeting Friday he was positive about the tone of the talks for the second successive day.

"We feel for the first time that the clubs are seriously interested in at least seeing if an agreement is possible," Fehr said. "We don't know yet whether it is possible; if it is, we don't know how soon."

"I think we're at an important juncture," said Charles O'Connor, the owners' chief negotiator. "If we put the pressures on ourselves, and we should, for three or four days beginning Monday, we ought to know by the end of that where we are in this."

The players' perception of the owners' new position stems from the removal of the revenue-sharing proposal from the bargaining table. The plan would have fixed salaries for a player's first six years and would have created salary caps that could have affected free agents.

"It removed an enormous obstacle," Fehr said. "It removed an issue that we couldn't even find a way intellectually to come to grips with. The clubs weren't in position to answer basic questions about their own proposal."

In place of revenue sharing, the commissioner, Fay Vincent, who has held recent talks in his office, offered a series of proposals that, while not acceptable to the players, are more closely related to what they have wanted to discuss.

Those issues include salary arbitration, free agency, minimum salary and benefits.

The proposals fall short of what the players want, but the negotiators have spent their last two meetings discussing them seriously.

Vincent, in one proposal, has suggested a 75 percent limit on a salary increase reached through arbitration after the player and his club have failed to agree. The players have always objected to any kind of salary cap.

Asked about arbitration caps, Fehr said: "That's a very difficult issue. The odds on that are reasonably long. That has been one of the major focuses of our discussion."

O'Connor was asked if the owners had been influenced in the negotiations by the television networks, which have signed new contracts worth \$1.46 billion with the major leagues, and by Florida and Arizona, states whose economies are affected by the owners' lockout of players from spring training camps, which were scheduled to open last Thursday.

"I can't tell you specifically there have been contacts," he said. "Is the issue of Florida and Arizona and the new partnership with ESPN and CBS a factor in the room on our side? The answer is very definitely yes."

"The commissioner particularly is sensitive to the spillover effect this is having in Arizona and Florida for lots of reasons. The commissioner, coming out of the entertainment industry, understands better than most the work ESPN and CBS have put in getting ready for the season. We feel their presence."



Connecticut's Lyman DePriest cutting under David Hinton of Boston College, which fell, 89-67.

## Commissioner, Having Players' Trust, Has Become Key Figure in Talks

By Murray Chass  
New York Times Service

NEW YORK — To some people, Fay Vincent, the major league commissioner, risked his standing with his employers, the club owners, when he replaced their revenue-sharing proposal with his own set of "suggestions" last week. But Vincent said that was not a major consideration for him.

"I really believe it would be a terrible mistake for any commissioner, faced with the enterprise and the season being in jeopardy, not to get involved," Vincent said Saturday. "I don't see how you can make the argument that I should stay away. The only argument is you could get hurt and therefore your personal position could be damaged. I don't see how you could legitimize that consideration."

Under baseball rules, Vincent has job security and cannot be dismissed for the

length of his contract. He did not, however, think about that before becoming, in effect, the owners' chief negotiator for a new collective-bargaining agreement that would end the owners' lockout of spring camps.

Vincent declined to speak specifically about his involvement developed, but George Steinbrenner, the New York Yankees' owner, said that the commissioner had told the owners at a meeting in Chicago on Feb. 9 that he might get into the talks. He had already had three private sessions with negotiators for both sides.

The six owners on the Player Relations Committee are charged with devising the owners' bargaining strategy and overseeing their side of the talks.

Not all of them knew that Vincent would be submitting his own suggestions, or proposals, to the players last week. But Vincent had discussed his plans with Bud Selig

of the Milwaukee Brewers, the committee chairman, and had kept him informed.

Selig thought that it was worth the effort, a management source said, even though he believed strongly in revenue sharing, or "participation," as the owners have called it.

Not all of the owners have been pleased with Vincent's involvement, but they apparently have been a small minority.

"I think most of the owners are happy I did get involved," the commissioner said. "They have been very supportive."

Steinbrenner is one. "Everybody was in favor of revenue participation, but it was obvious that no headway was being made with the union," Steinbrenner said by telephone from Tampa, Florida.

In a sport in which the owners have given players good reason to mistrust them, the players trust Vincent. They have

come to like his presence at the bargaining table, even though they know he is on the owners' side. Or because they know.

"I give Vincent credit for one thing," a member of the players' negotiating committee said. "He makes no pretense about whose side he's on. After a few days, I marvel at that."

In claiming a spot at the table, Vincent seemed to have usurped the role of Charles O'Connor, the labor lawyer, who is general counsel for the Player Relations Committee and is supposed to be the owners' chief negotiator.

At recent meetings, according to members of the players' committee who were present, O'Connor has let Vincent and his deputy, Steve Greenberg, conduct the owners' side of the talks.

Vincent has offered to bow out of the direct negotiations, but O'Connor has asked him to remain.

Vincent's operating procedure is 180 degrees different from the tactics Bowie Kuhn employed when he was commissioner in five difficult negotiations between the owners and the players. Kuhn tried to give the impression that he was an impartial member of the labor equation.

Marvin Miller, the players' former labor leader, recalled recently that he and Richard Moss, the union's general counsel, arrived early one day for a meeting in the office of John Gahagan, the owners' labor representative.

"We were waiting in an outer office," Miller related, "and there was Bowie Kuhn hard not to let us see him there. He came out of Gahagan's office and went into a back office. It was a storeroom."

Kuhn has not been available to discuss his role in those negotiations.

## No. 2 Missouri Dodge Upset By No. 11 Oklahoma, 92-90

The Associated Press

COLUMBIA, Miss. — Doug Smith scored 23 points, the last three on the winning play with 40 seconds left Sunday, as No. 2 Missouri held off 11th-ranked Oklahoma, 92-90, in a Big Eight Conference game and put itself in position to regain the No. 1 ranking.

The Tigers, who beat top-ranked

Kansas on the road last Tuesday, improved to 24-2.

The Sooners (19-4) rallied to take the lead with 14:20 to play and led by 90-89 on Jackie Jones' three-point shot with 1:30 left.

Then Smith, who scored 11 of his points in the final eight minutes, answered with his three-point play and the game came down to a frantic final 10 seconds, when Oklahoma missed on three chances at the tying basket.

**COLLEGE BASKETBALL**

**Irish Upset Syracuse**  
Elmer Bennett's three-point shot at the buzzer Saturday gave Notre Dame a 66-65 upset of No. 4 Syracuse in Syracuse, N.Y., news services reported.

Bennett's shot came after Billy Owens' driving left-hander with four seconds left had appeared to ensure a victory for the Orangemen.

after they had come back from trailing by as many as 13 points.

Notre Dame then called time as the clock ticked down to two seconds, but the officials ordered another second put back. That second proved crucial for the Irish (14-8).

The inbound pass came to a leaping LaPhonso Ellis at midcourt. He flipped the ball over his head to Bennett, whose shot from just behind the three-point line at the top of the key hit nothing but net.

Bennett finished with 18 points, and all five Notre Dame starters scored in double figures. Derrick Coleman led Syracuse (18-5) with 16.

No. 1 Kansas 94, Nebraska 67: Kansas (25-2) pulled away with a 20-5 spurt at the start of the second half in Lawrence, Kan. Terry Brown scored 19 points. Rick Calloway 17 and Kevin Pritchard 16 for the Jayhawks.

No. 3 Georgetown 68, Seton Hall 60: Dwayne Bryant scored a career-high 24 points and made six free throws down the stretch in East Rutherford, N.J. The Hoyas (20-3) gave their coach, John Thompson, his 13th straight 20-victory season.

No. 8 Arkansas 77, Southern Methodist 46: Oliver Miller scored 19 points and Mario Credit added 14 in Fayetteville, Ark., as the

Razorbacks (21-4) rebounded from two straight losses.

No. 16 Connecticut 89, Boston College 67: Reserve John Geymon scored a career-high 18 points for Connecticut (22-4) in Storrs, Conn., and kept the Huskies in a tie with Georgetown for first place in the Big East Conference.

No. 12 Purdue 62, Wisconsin 55: Steve Scheffler scored 26 points in West Lafayette, Ind., with a 14-foot jumper with 8:18 left giving him 1,000 points in his career. Purdue (18-4) won its 26th consecutive victory over Wisconsin.

No. 13 Georgia Tech 95, North Carolina State 92: Brian Oliver scored 6 of his 28 points in the second overtime as Georgia Tech (19-4) rallied from a 15-point deficit in Raleigh, N.C. Oliver's two free throws with 12 seconds left tied the score at 82 and sent the contest into the second overtime.

No. 21 Michigan State 70, No. 15 Illinois 63: Matt Steigenga scored 17 points and Steve Smith 15 for Michigan State (21-5) in East Lansing, Mich.

No. 17 Minnesota 98, North Carolina 72: Willie Burton scored 21 points and Kevin Lynch added 17 to lead Minnesota (17-6) in Evanston, Ill.

No. 18 Louisville 72, Virginia 56: Everett Sullivan scored 22 points, going 6-for-6 from three-point range, in Charlottesville, Va. The victory gave Denny Crum 20 victories for the 17th time in 19 years as the Cardinals' coach.

Pepperdine 131, No. 19 Loyola Marymount 123: Pepperdine, routed by Loyola Marymount on Wednesday, came back to set a school scoring record in Malibu, Calif.

No. 22 Xavier 74, St. Louis 58: Jamal Walker's 19 points led five starters in double figures in Cincinnati. Xavier (21-2) assured itself at least a tie for the Midwest Conference title.

Providence 77, No. 24 St. John's 74: Cardinal Green scored 23 points for Providence, which withstood a late rally by St. John's (20-7) in New York.

No. 25 New Mexico State 65, Fullerton State 62: Keith Hill scored 14 points, with a critical three-pointer in the final two minutes, for New Mexico State (21-3) in Fullerton, Calif.

## SCOREBOARD

## BASKETBALL

## NBA Standings

EASTERN CONFERENCE			
Team	W	L	Pct
New York	30	17	.638
Philadelphia	30	18	.625
Boston	29	19	.604
Washington	19	33	.364
New Jersey	12	37	.245
Atlanta	12	37	.245
Charlotte	12	37	.245
Cleveland	12	37	.245
Orlando	12	37	.245
CENTRAL DIVISION			
Chicago	34	14	.708
Indiana	27	24	.529
Atlanta	27	24	.529
Phoenix	27	24	.529
Golden State	27	24	.529
Seattle	27	24	.529
Portland	27	24	.529
WESTERN CONFERENCE			
Utah	34	14	.708
San Antonio	27	24	.529
Dallas	27	24	.529
Denver	27	24	.529
Houston	27	24	.529
Phoenix	27	24	.529
Golden State	27	24	.529
Seattle	27	24	.529
Portland	27	24	.529

## JORDAN 14-14, 5-4 3-4, PASSES 9-13 6-7 2-3, REBOUNDS: ALBERT 7 (SEATTLE 7), CHICAGO 4 (KING 10), ASSIST: ALBERT 27 (DOWNS 1), CLIPPER 3 (ARMSTRONG 7).

## UCLA 23 (MILWAUKEE 21), ASSIST: SACRAMENTO 27 (DELOACH 10), UTAH 27 (SHOCKLEY 17), SELECTED COLLEGE SCORES

FRIDAY'S RESULTS			
Carroll 71, Dartmouth 69	Portland 74, Loyola 66	Harvard 72, Columbia 52	La Salle 85, Iowa 78
Princeton 74, Brown 47	Yale 77, Penn 72	Old Dominion 64, Wake Forest 44	Baylor 75, Texas Tech 61
SATURDAY'S RESULTS			
American 74, Georgia Mason 70	Seattle 81, Boise State 63	Bucknell 71, Rider 70	Connecticut 84, Boston College 47
Cornell 104, Harvard 99	Dartmouth 72, Columbia 68	Drexel 74, Hofstra 66	Georgetown 66, Seton Hall 40
Harvard 74, Maine 66	Lafayette 65, St. Francis 37	Marquette 78, St. Francis 37	North Carolina 74, Wake Forest 44
Peru 84, Brown 71	Penn 72, George Washington 64	Princeton 74, Boston College 47	Providence 77, St. John's 74
St. Mary's 74, St. John's 74	St. Mary's 74, St. John's 74	St. Mary's 74, St. John's 74	St. Mary's 74, St. John's 74
SUNDAY'S RESULTS			
Carroll 71, Dartmouth 69	Portland 74, Loyola 66	Harvard 72, Columbia 52	La Salle 85, Iowa 78
Princeton 74, Brown 47	Yale 77, Penn 72	Old Dominion 64, Wake Forest 44	Baylor 75, Texas Tech 61

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# Of Nature, Culture, Bytes and Poetry

By Sarah Booth Conroy  
Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — "No one could stand to live poetry 24 hours a day," says O.B. Hardison Jr. "You'd go insane, or drive everyone else insane or both. Better to interrupt poetry with a bit of patching plaster or cleaning out the gutters."

Nevertheless, Hardison's new best-selling book, "Disappearing Through the Skyline: Culture and Technology in the Twentieth Century" (Viking), might be said to be one very long poem. Not surprising from one whose first book was of verse.

"I thought about that myself at times," Hardison says. "I'm dealing constantly with metaphors, resonant with mythic patterns, verging on the postmodernist place of experience of everyday life, seen in ways that give them a radical new significance."

The book sings contrapuntal ballads of time, now and yet. As centuries speed by in a jet stream of erudition, one can occasionally see black holes of ignorance patched with cosmic plaster, and gutters of pessimism cleaned out by a flow of optimism. The payoff is the argument that we live in the time of the most drastic change in human culture since the God of the Hebrews and Christ replaced the gods of Greece and Rome in Western worship. "Today," he writes on the first page of the book, "nature has slipped, perhaps finally, beyond our field of vision."

Along the way, Hardison considers such other arcane disturbers of perceived reality as quarks, concrete poems, fractal mathematics, computer music and transparent language. He calls these products of "metaphors of wonder."

Hardison sees a unity of "nature, history, language, art... parts of a wonderfully intricate mobile: touch one and the rest tremble and change position in sympathy."

Poet, philosopher and plasterer, the 61-year-old Hardison is currently a professor at Georgetown University, where students vie to enroll in his classes in Renaissance literature, with special

attention to Shakespeare and Milton. From 1969 to 1983, he was director of the Folger Library, and founded its theater with the late Richmond Crinkley. And, an incorrigible club man, he recently was president of the Renaissance Society of America. (Not to mention past presidencies of the Shakespeare Association of America and the Washington English-Speaking Union.)

Few things describe the professor poet's body of work better than the title of his doctoral dissertation, later a book: "Praise in Renaissance Literature." For praise he does. His enthusiasm and optimism — though not always for what you'd expect (imagine an admirer of Jefferson liking a Christo running fence) — are his chief charms.

Observed in his natural habitat, Hardison has the genial look and the rhythmic speech of the balladeer, and the wit of the word wielder. He is exquisitely polite, in his high North Carolina style — though it is true he ate (with an abstract air while dropping crumbs of wisdom) most of the chocolate cookies that Mari-frances Hardison, his wife of 39 years, provided with the morning tea.

They met at the University of North Carolina, when both were master's degree students in literature. His first two degrees came from the University of North Carolina, and he later taught there for 12 years. They married in Madison, Wisconsin, in 1950 on the 5170 a month he earned on his teaching scholarship while he earned his Ph.D.

"We were married between confessions," says Mari-frances Hardison. "I was Catholic, O.B. was not. And the priest wanted to make it hard on us. Afterward, O.B. said that the priest recited the Latin so fast, he wasn't sure if we'd been married or buried."

In a day when marriages seldom go to such lengths, Hardison likes to say, "Ours is founded on the hard rock of eternal lust."

Today he describes his religion as "mostly according to Milton." The new book is the second in a

trilogy that began with "Entering the Maze: Identity and Change in Modern Culture" (Oxford, 1981). Its brisk sales justified Viking's decision to triple his advance and to publish an initial run of 32,000 copies of "Through the Skyline." He has 500 pages of the third volume in his computer.

As a teen-ager at St. Albans, he wanted to be an astronomer, imagining "a finite but unbounded universe — if you went far enough in one direction you'd come back to where you started."

As a good humanist, he would, Hardison traces his interest in science by reading ideas from the books he liked. Werner Heisenberg's uncertainty principle struck him as being "highly important."

"According to this, if you choose to observe nature in one way, you rule out observing it in another. So two observers see different natures. And both are correct. For the observer shapes things being observed. This was the first suggestion to me that nature has disappeared."

"And then in the 1950s, the Kinsey report on male sexuality had a long preface on how the interviewer shapes the information being derived — for instance how he's dressed. The fancy silk tie, the blue jeans would elicit different information."

He had given up studying science in school because it cut into his time for the humanities. Then he became convinced that the history of science could not be separated from the history of human beings "if you wanted to escape the stereotypes, the prison house of unstated assumptions." From there, like all thinking people in the 1960s, Hardison became interested in "the hot spots of culture — population, pollution, the destruction of forests. I began to be aware of the existing of things." These ideas solidified into a series of lectures, first delivered at Clemson University in 1978.

During these years he was a Fulbright Fellow in Italy (1953-54), a Guggenheim Fellow (1963-64) and a visiting lecturer in New Zealand (1980).



Poet Hardison: "I began to be aware of the existing of things."

His first computer, in 1982, was a true breakthrough. He began to subscribe to "Byte, Amazing Computers, all those magazines. I learned elementary programming. I even wrote a computer program that composes iambic pentameter — not great iambic pentameter, but it scans for the most part."

Hardison believes computers make it easier to "pour your soul into writing. There's less interruption of the process — you don't have to change paper or turn a page."

Hardison dates his decision to

leave the Folger from the time he became proficient on the computer. His very good secretary came in one day and said, "Do you realize you don't dictate letters to me anymore?"

As you might expect, he shares the writer's universal feeling that when the writing goes well, he's plugged into some celestial writing program. He traces the emotion back to Milton, who "thought the muse paid a mighty visit to his couch, giving him unimpeded verse. He writes of going to bed at night and waking up with the verses singing in his head."

## That's a Joke, Son — Get It?

By William Safire

WASHINGTON — The National — the first all-sports daily newspaper distributed nationwide in the United States — was kicked off last month by the ace sportswriter Frank Deford. It appears to be a story about the New York Knicks basketball center Patrick Ewing was "The Center is Holding," an allusion to William Butler Yeats's poem "The Second Coming."

William A. Henry 3d, a classy writer who runs the section proudly labeled "Press" in Time magazine, (others lump the print and electronic media together under media, but who ever heard of a "full-court media"?), posed this question in his coverage of the kickoff: Will the public support an all-sports daily? Time concluded that "The National is hard to assess because it is unprecedented — one might say, a whole new ball game."

Now we're into a whole new problem: *parthenia* (accent on the *ree*), the Greek word for "speaking boldly of something obvious," which can be stretched into a second sense of "excuse the joke."

This pre-emptive apology, one might say, is a rhetorical bludgeon, or, outrageously metaphorical, or, stultifying, or, you mustn't hold it against me — but for God's sake, notice it. "Some speakers self-conscious about humor, or worried that their audience will miss their hard-earned easy wit, use the internal flag at the conclusion of the throw-away, like the Fred Allen senator who would add, 'That's a joke, son.'"

The most familiar I was being funny phrase is so to speak. This Britishism, originally meaning "in the vernacular" or indigenous dialect, was an aristocratic apology for stooping to colorful downmarket language. In the United States, it remains a staple of academics who are cooling their schooling, so to speak. Another form of this elitist elocution, sometimes used self-mockingly, is *they say*, "they" being the less refined types.

Politicians are *parthenias* (preferable to *parthenias*), too. Forgive me, but was Ronald Reagan's favorite way of supercharging some seemingly outrageous pill. This is a variation of *if you will permit me*, or *if you will forgive me*, often shortened to *if you will* and put at the end. Some writers are shy not only about making a funny, but about appearing to be too literate or la-di-da in their apology aloofthought.

Wordplay is not foreplay; it may cause a groan or two, but won't provoke a passionate response. Man the ramparts of repartee with stout heart, persevere in your penitence without shame — it's all good badinage, as it were.

Just toss them a metaphor and cynical journalists go weak-kneed. "I wrote Michael Kinsley in The Washington Post. He was complaining about the attention given to the ordinarily supple 'Budget of the United States Government' because Director Richard G. Darman enlivened the hefty tome with a personal introduction comparing the general perception of the budget to the Cookie Monster on public television's 'Sesame Street.'"

I enjoy bright writing in unexpected places and salute Darman for slipping some wake-up prose into

the torpid, timid, turgid world of government. The last time this happened at OMB was in Budget Director Cap Weinberger's day when he suggested that Nixonian economic projections could become a "self-fulfilling prophecy." When he sent the draft out for comment to a score of departments and agencies, every single one returned the document with that line crossed out: The turn of phrase generated universal horror. Cap the Knife pretended to accept the distinction, sent out eight more redrafts with the original thought excised and then slipped it back in just before the budget went to the printer. He knew bureaucrats infighting better than most.

However, Darman — having dared to be colorful — invites close inspection of prose as well as numbers. Here are a few potshots:

"As all monsters are, Cookie Monster is *infinitely* intimidating." This is so grammatically correct as to be hopelessly stilted. What's the matter with the natural *Like all monsters*? Darman knows how to do it; later in the document, he writes, "Like education, drug abuse is a problem." That's, like, the way, man — no graceful writer would try "As education is, drug abuse is."

"The true cost of the previously planned and congressionally-approved defense program is..." In this explanation of the absence of a peace dividend, Darman tries to have it both ways on hyphenation. When an adverb ending in *ly* modifies an adjective before a noun, no hyphen is called for. *Previously planned* is correct; *congressionally-approved* is a mistake.

"Federal investments in the future will only achieve their objectives if they are effectively managed." Because this comes in the context of improved returns on investment, I think he means "in the future, federal investments will..." (He could be usually placed in the section under Education.) Worse, the man charged with keeping track of \$1.23 trillion, has mislabeled his modifier; he does not mean "will only achieve," because achievement is not to be sneezed at. He means "will achieve their objectives only if."

A metaphor (in the case of the Cookie Monster, an analogy) is attention-getting. But in the future, federal budget messages will achieve their objectives only if they are effectively copy-edited.

You think powerful institutions are incapable of drastic change? You think the people are powerless to bring about fundamental reform in entrenched bureaucracies?

Consider this Editors' Note in The New York Times, reprinted here in its entirety: "The Times today adopts the country name *Romania*, spelled with an *a*, in place of *Rumania*. The *a* form is preferred by many Romanians as a reflection of their Roman origins and has been favored in recent years by most English-language publications."

"Until now, in using the *a*, The Times has been guided by its main geographic reference, the Columbia Lippincott Gazetteer of the World. The gazetteer editors apparently believed that *a*, better than *u*, conveyed the Romanian pronunciation of the name."

The gazetteer was revised most recently in 1961, and its publishers have no current plans for a new edition. The Times is shifting now because *Romania* has become more familiar to Americans than *Rumania*.

New York Times Service

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